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POLITICAL DIARIES

OF

Lieut. H. B. EDWARDES

1847-1849.

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POLITICAL DIARIES

OF

LIEUT. H. B. EDWARDES

ASSISTANT TO THE RESIDENT AT LAHORE

1847-1849

ALLAHABAD
PRINTED AT THE PIONEER PRESS

1911

Price Rs 5-8-0 or 8s. 3d.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE present volume is one of a series of selections from the Punjab Government records which have been published by the Punjab Government. The volumes constituting the series are—

The Delhi Residency and Agency Records	... 1807-1857, Volume I.
The Ludhiana Agency Records,	1808-1815, Volume II.
The Political Diaries of the Resident at Lahore and his Assistants	... 1846-1849, Volumes III—VI.
The Mutiny Records—Correspondence and Reports	... 1857-1858, Volumes VII and VIII each in two Parts.

It had been intended to issue further volumes also, dealing with (*a*) the records of the Karnal, Ambala and Ludhiana Agencies (including the despatches of Sir D. Ochterlony, Superintendent of Political Affairs and Agent to the Governor-General at Ludhiana, and the diaries of his Assistant, Captain G. Birch), 1816—1840; (*b*) the records of the North-West Frontier Agency, 1840—1845, and (*c*) those of the Lahore Residency, 1846—1849; but it has been found necessary on financial grounds to postpone the publication of these further papers.

The material for the volumes issued has been prepared and put through the Press by Mr. A. Raynor, late Registrar of the Punjab Civil Secretariat.

LAHORE:

December 1915.

PREFACE.

THE treaties executed with the Lahore Darbar after the first Sikh War provided *inter alia* for the location of a British garrison at Lahore until the end of the year 1846, to assist in the reconstitution of a satisfactory administration. Major (shortly afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel) H. M. Lawrence remained at Lahore as Agent to the Governor-General in charge of the political relations of the British Government with the Darbar.

2. This arrangement continued until the Treaty of Bhairowal executed in December 1846, when the Lahore Government, in return for the continued service of the British garrison, agreed to admit of more direct supervision during the minority of the Maharaja. Lieutenant-Colonel H. M. Lawrence was then made Resident as well as Agent to the Governor-General for the North-West Frontier, which continued to be the designation of the appointment until the 6th March 1848, when it was altered to that of Resident at Lahore and Chief Commissioner of the Cis- and Trans-Sutlej States.

3. Lieutenant-Colonel H. M. Lawrence held the office of Agent to the Governor-General, North-West Frontier, and Resident at Lahore, from the 1st January to the 30th November 1847, when he proceeded on sick leave to Europe. He had been absent at Simla from the 21st of August to the 17th of October 1847, during which period Mr. J. Lawrence, Commissioner and Superintendent of the Trans-Sutlej States, acted as Resident and Agent to the Governor-General in addition to his other duties. Mr. J. Lawrence took charge

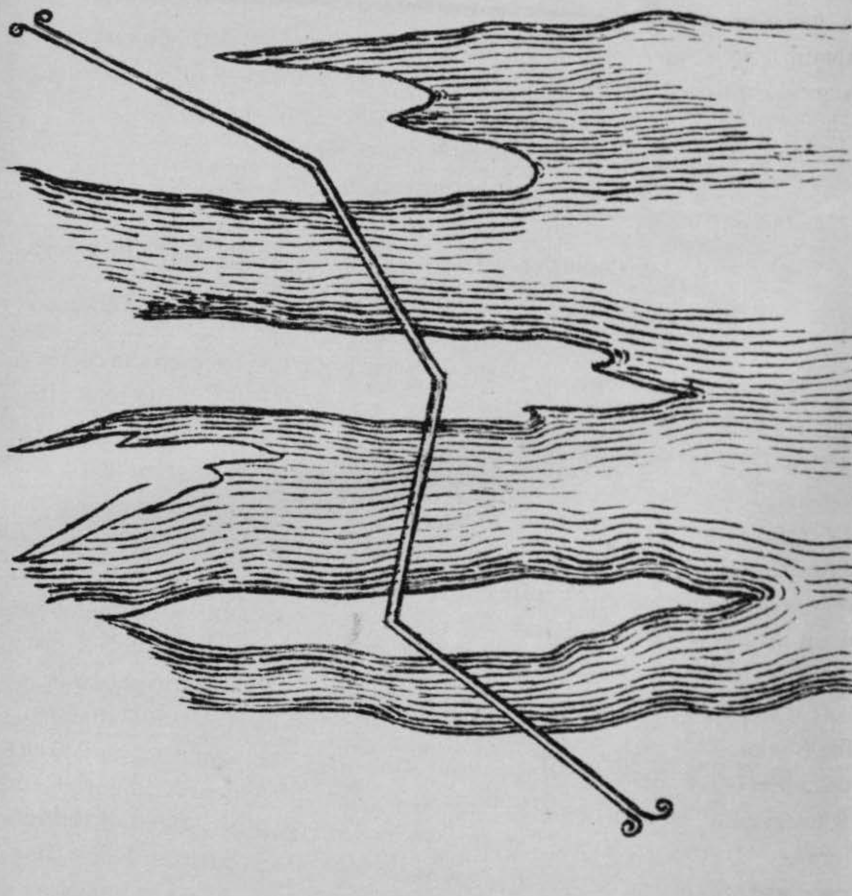
again on Colonel Lawrence's departure and officiated as Resident and Agent to the Governor-General until relieved, on the 6th March 1848, by Sir F. Currie under the designation of Resident at Lahore and Chief Commissioner of the Cis- and Trans-Sutlej States. Sir F. Currie was in charge when the second Sikh War broke out in April 1848. On March 29th, 1849, the Punjab was annexed and the Government passed into the hands of the Board of Administration composed of Sir H. Lawrence, Mr. J. Lawrence and Mr. C. Mansel.

4. The work done by the Assistants to the Resident in the interval between the Sikh War and during the progress of the second Sikh War is the main subject of the fourth, fifth and sixth volumes of this series. The present volume deals entirely with the diaries of Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes who was deputed to the Bannu Frontier in February-May 1847 and again in November 1847. He has himself in his fascinating book 'A Year on the Punjab Frontier' described his adventures in the frontier districts, and the large part which he played in the campaign which followed the assassination of Vans Agnew at Multan in April 1848; but the official records of the time may also be found of interest. Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Herbert) Edwardes was born in 1819 and was less than 27 years of age when he wrote the diaries with which this volume begins. He was Commissioner of Peshawar during the Mutiny and died in December 1868.

Political Diaries of Lieutenant HERBERT *B.* EDWARDES, *Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo—1847.*

[*Note.*—Lieut. Edwardes returned to Lahore from his first deputation on the 27th May 1847.]

Sketch showing sites of bridges en route from Lahore to Pindee Dass ke Kote — (vide page 3)



No. 1.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 13th to the 15th February 1847.

13th February 1847.—Left Lahôre at 2 o'clock P.M.; drove one march and rode three; reached my tent at Oodoowalee at 2 o'clock in the morning of 14th. By the perambulator, which was lent me by Captain Sayers, Assistant Quartermaster-General at Lahore, the distance appears to be only 51 miles and two furlongs as follows:—

From Lahore to Pindee Dass ke kote	...	13½ miles.
Thence to Busuntpoor (or as it is commonly pronounced Sunnutpoorah)		11½ „
„ „ Muttooah	... ...	13 „
„ „ Oodoowalee	... ..	13 „ 2 furlongs.
		51 „ 2 furlongs.

The late rain, however, slight as it has been, has covered the country with water and cultivation, obliterating almost all trace of the road after passing Busuntpoor; and stormy weather setting in with the evening it was difficult to keep a torch alight: the guides in consequence lost my way for me instead of finding it, and we went stumbling on through dark and drizzling rain all night. These marches must be very heavy in the regular rainy season, particularly the first, which is cut up by ravines and water-courses, and seems almost abandoned by the cultivator. It has two bridges at its worst points* of very eccentric construction, one three or four miles from the right bank of the Ravee, very old, and built (on the authority of the Maharajah's postillion!) by Shah Dowlah, the other (on the same authority) by Runjeet Sing, at a place called Bagh Buchchah, in evident imitation of the former. Both for want of repair are almost useless. Beyond Busuntpoor was pitched a camp of Zumboorchees, detached from Kahn Sing, Mujetea, and under command of one Jye Sing. They were professedly going to Bunnoo Tank, but were waiting for *orders* (more probably *pay*) from Bukshee Bhuggut Ram. I hope Bunnoo Tank will be settled before these people come up.

* *Vide* Sketch.

14th February 1847.—Marched at midday to Ramnuggur on the bank of the Chenab, by the perambulator 16 miles. The country a broad and level plain, chiefly grass, little cultivation. Crops backward compared with the Manjha; villages few and far between. About five miles from Ramnuggur is a considerable place called Akalghur. Numerous walled gardens on either side the road argue wealthy residents of the upper class; probably it is a favourite spot for jageers. A severe storm set in with hail just as I reached Ramnuggur, and continued in rain all the evening. Great trouble with the Irregular Cavalry sowars who are along with me. On the line of march was stopped by zumindars crying "Furiyad! Sahiblog!" and was told my people had seized some cultivators to carry my baggage. A mile farther overtook the pressed men carrying the head and heel ropes, horse clothing, etc., etc., of my Duffadar and 12 troopers. Released the men; threw down the loads; and left the two sowars who were riding with me to bring them up. At Ramnuggur they wanted to know where they were to put up. "Where are your own *pauls?*" Left behind! It comes out they have not brought their *tattoos;* trusting I suppose to seizing *begarees* and finding free lodgings at every march. Came to an explanation on this head; but wonder what amount of Sindh and extra *batta* would induce an Irregular sowar to pay his own coolees? Was accompanied on the march by Gholam Surwur Khan and another Jageerdar of Tank, with a sowar or two; I believe they have 20 along with them. General Cortlandt's force crossed the Chenab to-day, as my informant said "hearing that I was coming!" There is a Cavalry Regiment still here, the "Churunjeet;" Colonel, Jodh Sing Man; Commandant, Bussawah Sing; 760 sowars (80 away on leave). No news of Sirdar Shumshere Sing.

15th February.—Heavy clouds and spitting rain. Ordered my tent to Ghunnah, 7 *koss* on the other side of the river; but hearing afterwards that only part of Cortlandt's men crossed yesterday, that the rest are to cross to-day, and that Cortlandt himself is only a *koss* or two on the opposite side, directed my camp to be pitched near his, that we may keep together in future. No. arrangements made here for a dawk of letters to and fro: though I remember reading in the Lahore *Ukhbars* several days ago that the Durbar had ordered a dawk to be laid all the way to Bunnoo Tank. Probably it is on another road.

Between the showers blue hills distinctly visible on the other side of the Chenab: the people say the one in front of us is Meeanee.

VISITS.

Oodoowalee, 14th February 1847.—Gopal, a Moonshee who is Kardar of this and four other villages, called to pay his respects. Said the camp which has gone on behaved very well; that Misr Rulla Ram (who is his master and has just made him a Kardar) is a very good man; that these villages are held in *ijarah* by the Misr, and were formerly with Mooltan; that the disagreement between the Chung and Mooltan Governors is not about police matters, but about their mutual boundary, the river not separating the *ilakahs* in all places, part of one pergunnah lying on the other side, etc., etc.

A zumindar called immediately afterwards and declared the camp which has gone on plundered a good deal; and that Misr Rulla Ram is a great screw. This he qualified by observing parenthetically "All Kardars are screws. The revenue is easily paid, but not so easily the people who collect it. We were better off under Mooltan. Moolraj's *bundobust* is very fair." This is a great place for *goor*.

Ramnuggur, 14th February.—A wretched Moonshee who says he is Kardar called to make a *salaam*.

15th February.—Another Moonshee, naib of the above, called to hope his master had given satisfaction; but as no notice of my coming had been sent by the Durbar, no preparations had been made for *russud*, etc. Found all that was necessary notwithstanding.

Bussawah Sing, Commandant of the Churunjeet Sowars, called to apologise for his Colonel not coming; the said Colonel being away at his jageer. The regiment is ordered *to wait here till it gets pay;* but as that is rather indefinite I shall beg them to join Cortlandt to-morrow. In the meantime I have told the Commandant to summon his Colonel from the country-house.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 2.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 15th and 16th February 1847.

15th February 1847.—Crossed the Chenab and joined Cortlandt's camp. The Chenab is three miles from Ramnuggur ; and at this time is no more than 300 yards wide at the ghat, but has a rapid current. In the course of last year it shifted its channel nearly half a mile to the southward leaving its old bed a broad, barren *nullah* full of quicksands ; difficult for guns and still worse for hackeries. The Sikh troops were encamped in a very orderly manner on the high slip of land which divides the present channel from the old. Rain at intervals nearly all day.

Colonel Jodh Sing Man's Moonshee reporting that the treasure to pay the Churunjeet Sowars had arrived within a few *koss* of their camp, I wrote back to the Colonel to say that he might either halt at Ramnuggur another day to pay his men, and then join Cortlandt by a forced march the day after ; or join to-morrow, and give out pay upon the march. Sad accounts from General Cortlandt of the bad equipment of the force in every way ; short of men ; short of ammunition ; short of carriage. Never heard anything like his statement ; and begged him to have a muster-parade to-morrow to see how things really stand.

16th February.—Marched with the force to Phaleah, 13 miles 7 furlongs ; very severe work for the wheeled carriage crossing the old bed of the river ; hackeries stuck fast in all directions. The Salt Range clearly in sight all the morning. Found the village of Phaleah in great perplexity with two Thannadars, and not knowing to which to pay allegiance ; after hearing both sides it appeared that Phaleah and three other neighbouring villages have been given in *ijarah* to Mool Sing (Vukeel of Sirdar Tej Sing) who has sent his own brother to be Thannadar and collector of revenue. The former Thannadar won't give up the mud fort without an order from Dewan Moolraj, who put him in. Accordingly Mool Sing's brother has sent on his credentials for nspection by the Dewan at Pind Dadun Khan ; and both parties await the answer. This district was successively held by Kahn Sing, Kohareah, and Misr Umeer Chund. The zumindars speak moderately of the former ; he was just in collecting the stipulated revenue, but he was cruel and arrogant. Of the latter there is but one testimony ; that he was

a "*burrah zalim.*" They speak very fairly of the present man, Moolraj: that he has brought a good character with him; and if he is a *zalim* he has not shown it yet. But then the revenue is not collected yet. The fame of the good government in Mooltan is certainly widespread, and must represent a substantive good. It is quite pleasing to hear. No likelihood of the baggage coming up till nightfall; so agreed to a halt tomorrow; and propose to make the best of it by a flying visit to the fort of Rampore, of whose strength and recent fortifications by Rajah Lal Sing we have heard so much. It is in the hills on the other side of the Jheylum, about three marches from this.

In the evening a muster-parade, which I attended with General Cortlandt. His own two regiments are strong and in good order; but have not got a round of ammunition either in pouch or magazine. Bishun Sing's and Purtab Sing's regiments could not have mustered two companies each. (Cortlandt has promised me the returns, but not yet sent them.) The men of the former have ten rounds in pouch, but no magazine; those of the latter corps not a round anywhere! Of one of these corps the number of those absent without leave alone was, I think, 135, and of the other 115. Hardly half the officers of either are present. The Artillery is completely equipped with 500 rounds of shot and 200 of shell per gun. Gunput Raie, who has to supply the magazine stores, loaded the only 19 camels Cortlandt could get for his magazine, with one lakh of balls, 50,000 flints, and no powder! (For 800 men the magazine complement is 80,000 ball cartridges, 16,000 flints, and 50 maunds of powder, all of which, with wax cloth, bullet-moulds, etc., take 30 camels.) The proper indents are stated to have been sent in; and the requisite orders issued by the Durbar to Gunput Raie in charge of the magazine, and Suzawar, *Furash*, in charge of the *Shooturkhanah*, but neither of those officers chose to comply. General Cortlandt seems to have done his best to get what was right, but would have done better to report his deficiencies to Colonel Lawrence when he found the Durbar inattentive to his complaints. The Baboo Pandah Regiment is bodily in the rear, one march from Lahore, where it was halted when last heard of. The Futteh Regiment is on its march from Jhung; and will join us on the other side of the Jheylum.

VISITS.

15th February 1847.—Camp, right bank of the Chenab. General Cortlandt brought all the Colonels, Commandants, Adjutants, and Majors to call on me. Talking to them about the new marching and trans-Indus *batta*, I learnt that no regular order on the subject has yet reached them through the Durbar, consequently the amount of the trans-Indus *batta*, and the *batta* to be drawn by all the officers is unknown; all seem very much pleased with the regulation, and say it is one which Avitabile recommended long ago.

Colonel Jodh Sing's Moonshee called, having come across from Ramnuggur to show me the *purwannah* ordering the regiment to halt there for pay.

16th February.—Phaleah.—The former Thannadar and a brother of Mool Sing, Vukeel, who has just been appointed to supersede him, called separately to plead their cause, as did also the zumindars of the place to ask who they ought to obey? For a wonder they seem well inclined towards the old one.

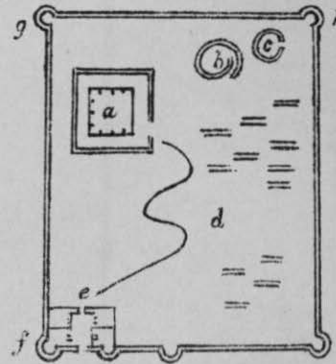
HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 3.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 17th and 18th February 1847.

17th February 1847.—Started with General Cortlandt at 4 A.M. for Rampore. Rode one horse to the village of Shuheedanwalee, about 14 miles, fully ten of which are jungle; another horse to Darapoor, on the right bank of the Jheylum, about nine miles; and a camel thence to Rampore, about nine miles farther. The country between Shuheedanwalee and the Jheylum is highly cultivated, and shows the finest crops I have seen this season. The Jheylum is now low; and at the Russool and Darapoor ferry, where we crossed, it was not more than 300 yards wide, but an extensive bed of dry sand, and the high banks on the left show that it is both broad and rapid when in flood. From Darapoor to Rampore is a poor country, still more impoverished this year by the ravages of locusts, which filled the air and might be seen moving along in a dismal cloud from field to field and village to village

Fort of Rampore
(*Vide page 9*)





a. The citadel.—Stone.
b. } Two mud towers.
c. }
d. Mud huts.
e. The only gate.—Stone.
Length from f. to g. about 100 yards.
Breadth from g. to h. about 80 yards.
Wall made of mud mixed with pebbles.
No well in the fort.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

as they were driven onwards by the drums, shouts, and curses of the wretched zumindars. Low hills descend almost to the river at this point, on the right bank; on the left is seen the Kohar range, behind which in the distance tower the snowy mountains of Cashmere. Amongst them I could easily distinguish the peaks of the Baramgulla Pass. Rampore is an insignificant cluster of 20 or 30 huts round about the fort built by Rajah Lal Sing; and it is difficult to imagine what can have induced the Rajah to choose such a spot either for a house or a stronghold. The country is barren; and the position absurd. Originally the village belonged to a petty Mullick, but was absorbed in the kingdom of Runjeet Sing, who allowed the former possessor a fourth of the produce. On the Mullick's death even this was taken away from his son, Mullick Sultan Muhmood, who in consequence lived at Rampore in the utmost poverty, and might well expect to escape farther notice, but four years ago Rajah Lal Sing (then living at Sunghoyee) happened to ride that way, and took a fancy to build a fort there. So he seized the poor Mullick and imprisoned him, with what object is not obvious, and commenced the present fort. A year ago Lal Sing released the Mullick again, and gave him a village in jageer, worth rupees 500 a year. He has lived to show strangers over the Rajah's fort; and considers his own case as by no means the least instrumental in transporting Lal Sing to "Kalah panee." The Rajah conceived and drew out the plan of the fort himself; and entrusted the building to Roop Lal, his Kardar. There is no well in it; and no ditch round the wall, which is so low that one soldier standing on another's shoulders could climb over it. The approach up the little hill on which it stands is gradual and easy, while the hill itself is only a few yards from the back of the fort; and an enemy has only to carry a few swivels up behind to drive all the garrison either out of the gate or into the citadel. The latter seems to be a double-storied quadrangle of rooms opening inwards to a courtyard; but it is at present full of the Rajah's property, and sealed up. Three guns were found in the fort by the officer sent by the Durbar to confiscate the place. To defend the rear of the fort from being turned as above suggested there is a small tower perched on the brow of the hill; but from a hasty glance I should say its fire might just be depressed into the fort itself, but could not touch an enemy who had got between the two. Altogether a more unmilitary

fort I never saw; and the Rajah is much belied by the report that he had built a castle unconstitutionally strong. There is just one month in the twelve—after the rains—when Rampore may have some pretensions to difficulty of approach. At the foot of the little plain in which the hill glides away is the broad bed of a *nullah*, called the Boonhah, which at that season comes down from Pothowar; and judging from its width the stream must be considerable. At present it is quite dry. Reached camp again at half past eight P.M., and found that Sirdar Shumshere Sing, Sirdar Kripal Sing, the Churunjeet Sowars, the Baboo Pandah Regiment and the *zumboorahs* had come up during the day.

18th February 1847.—Marched to Basoo Suhwahwah, 11 miles and 3 furlongs. Jungle interspersed with cultivation "few and far between." About seven miles from Phaleah the road passes through a village named Mangtah, where there is a handsome *Thakoordwarah* built by Rajah Goolab Sing and conspicuous far over the jungle. Some *Babahs* reside there, and the place is of great sanctity. Runjeet Sing always halted there to hear the *Grunth* read.

Numerous complaints to-day, chiefly of robberies unenquired into or unredressed. One very bad case from the village of Shuheedanwalee, where I went yesterday. The villagers related the circumstances to me then; to-day I got their *urzees*. They seem to have been treated with great violence by the Jageerdar, Sirdar Goormookh Sing, Lumbah, whose name is very bad in these parts. I hope to meet him in a day or two.

VISITS.

18th February—Basoo Suhwahwah.—General Cortlandt brought me the muster rolls of the Jammadarwallah and Purtab Sing Regiments, from which it appears that in the former 552 are present with the flag, the complement being 803, and in the latter 232, the strength being 732. A muster of the Baboo Pandah Regiment will be taken this evening.

Sirdar Shumshere Sing, Sirdar Kripal Sing and Sirdar Soorjan Sing called. The former complained that the *zumboorahs* were already two

on a camel, so ill were they supplied with carriage at starting. I begged of him to take a muster of the Cavalry to-morrow and write to Sirdar Tej Sing urgently for ammunition.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 4.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 19th and 20th February 1847.

19th February 1847.—Marched to Hurree Badshahpoor, two small villages 11½ miles from Basoo Suhwahwah. (*N.B.*—It is the custom hereabouts to speak collectively of villages.) The country almost unbroken jungle, and on enquiry I am told that the heart of this Doab is the same wild waste, inhabited by a people as uncultivated, whose property (when it is their property, and not their neighbour's) consists of flocks and herds and whose trade is cattle stealing. Cultivation is found only on the banks of the rivers. Among the complaints to-day was one against a zumindar a few *koss* from here who had stolen a buffalo four years ago, all which time the owner had been in search of it, and only found it the other day. He now claims not only the buffalo, but three calves which she has given in the interim and the value of all the butter she *must* have yielded during the same period The complainant while loud in his call for justice could not restrain his admiration at the ability of the thief who had evaded his search so many years. The Tank Jageerdars inform me there is a disturbance in Murwut (or Moorut), the Kardar of a place called Lukkee having given offence; the Moolkeahs, assisted by some Vizeerees have besieged the fort. General Cortlandt is unwell; has been so ever since his trip to Rampore.

20th February.—Marched to Meeanee, 17½ miles, of which two-thirds were still jungle, the rest announces with cultivation our approach to the bank of the Jheylum. Meeanee is a considerable place, and was originally the salt mart; but Pind Dadun Khan on the other bank arose and superseded it. A salute greeted our arrival, fired by two guns belonging to a Horse Artillery troop commanded by Colonel Sekunder Khan,

son of General Elahee Buksh, and brother of little Muddud Khan, who commands the Maharajah's "Nikkah pultan." The rest of the guns are out in the district. The fort of Meeanee was built by Rajah Goolab Sing, when Kardar of this district, and is all that could be wished in a provincial fort, plain, simple but serviceable if kept in order, which it now is *not*. The rough sketch annexed from memory gives an idea of the plan. The town lies south and west of the fort.

Paid a flying visit to Pind Dadun Khan, which is three *koss* from Meeanee, on the right bank of the Jheylum. The river is now running in two channels with half a *koss* of sand between them, and in the rains both unite in one broad flood. The larger of the two currents is now about 600 yards wide opposite Pind Dadun Khan and flows rapidly. Pind Dadun Khan consists of three small towns in a line, about 100 yards from each other. In the centre one is the fort and bazaar; the former much like Meeanee in plan, but half as large again, and only one well of brackish water; the latter extensive and populous. The commerce here carried on with all parts of the hill and plain draws men of all races to this spot, and gives a motley appearance to the crowded streets. I was much struck by not seeing one lump of salt in any of the city shops, though boat-loads innumerable lie on the quay in large red blocks which glitter in the sun. After riding through the streets of two out of the three towns I returned to Meeanee and followed the force to Bheyrah, 11 miles and 3 furlongs. The country now is well cultivated and fertile.

Visits.

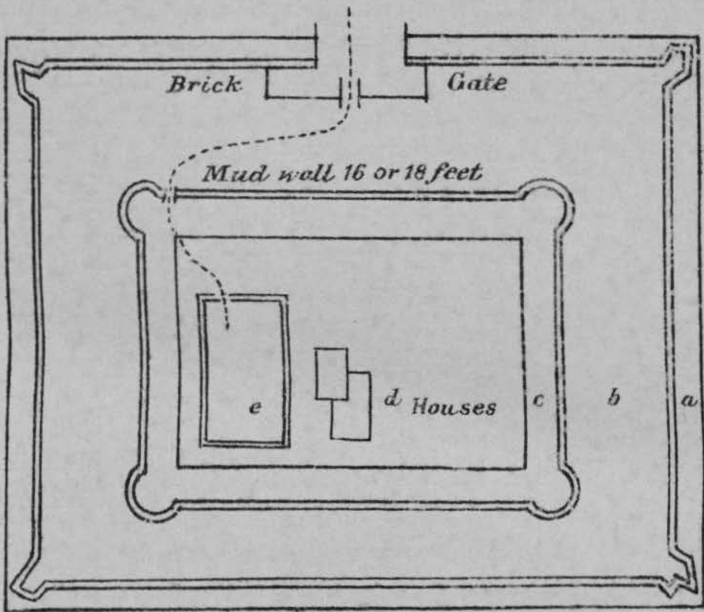
19th February 1847—Hurree Badshahpoor.—Sirdar Lungur Khan of Saheewal, sent by Dewan Moolraj to wait on me, arrived and presented a *surwarnah*. This Sirdar says he accompanied General Pollock and Colonel Lawrence to Cabul; and rather thinks he contributed essentially to the success of the Second Afghan War.

Shah Newaz Khan of Esau Kheyl, and his namesake of Tank, called in the evening to show a letter from their homes.

20th February—Meeanee.—Dewan Moolraj, Kardar of Pind Dadun Khan, paid me a visit and presented a *surwarnah*. He introduced Sirdar Goormookh Sing, Lumbah, Sirdar Himmut Sing, Huzarahwallah,

Fort of Meeanee.

(*Vide* page 12)



a. Outside ditch dry–6 feet.
b. Inside enclosure for horses and cattle about 15 yards wide.
c. Rampart—6 feet.
d. Inside area about 40 yards wide and 60 yards long.
e. Citadel—a brick house with 4 square towers.

(son of Maha Sing, adopted son of Sirdar Hurree Sing), Raj Roop, brother, and Ameer Chund, nephew of Dewan Moolraj; Dewan Luchmee Ram; Sirdar Nihal Sing, Lumba; Sirdar Jewun Sing, Chachuh; Mean Waris Khan of Wuttalah; Misr Gyan Chund, son of Misr Rulla Ram; Colonel Sekunder Khan, son of General Elahee Buksh, etc., etc.,—a tent full. Dewan Moolraj was very anxious to know what report I had heard of him from the zumindars on the road. I told him they said "he had brought a good character with him, and only hoped he would keep it up." He promises to do so, but says truly he has got a difficult country: thieves from one end to the other. He was somewhat surprised at my asking him to enquire into the *pros* and *cons* of a case of theft of four years' standing which had come to my hearing; and thought he would have enough to do to adjudicate the current crimes of his own time. He is very jealous of the good name of his namesake in Mooltan; so perhaps he may go the same way to earn it. Asked him to supply if possible 100 camels, 65 camel saddles, 150 grass ropes and a maund of *sootlee* required to equip our regiment and *zumboorahs*. After the visit I took Sirdar Goormookh Sing aside, and spoke to him about sundry complaints made against him to me. He is an old, feeble man, from whose appearance violence could not be expected; but he is ill-spoken of for harsh treatment and extreme measures with the zumindars of his jageer, and his best friends allow that having been a famous soldier in his youth, he is still fonder of the *fortiter in re* with his people than the *suaviter in modo*. His age and apparent infirmities prevented me saying much to him; but I reproved his servants, who seem to do what they will with the old gentleman, and most probably are the parties in fault. They promised to give me a satisfactory answer to the Shuheedanwallah *urzee*; but on subsequent perusal it is only obvious that there was bloodshed on both sides; so I have begged the Sirdar to cry quits with the village, and release the *punches* whom he has put in prison.

Sirdars Shumshere Sing, Kripal Sing and Soorjan Sing called; the former to report that he had mustered the Churunjeet Cavalry Regiment and found 556 present out of 770; very few of the absent 114 are so without permission. The Churunjeet Regiment has, however, no ammunition; and I do not hear that any is on the road. The magazine of Cortlandt's Regiments and Baboo Pandah's is said to have come

nearly up to us. Sirdar Shumshere Sing wished to halt till it arrived, but it is better not.

A descendant of the Kazees of Meeanee, in the days of the Delhi Kings, called with an apron full of eggs, " hearing that I would not take zumindar's rupees"! and coolly requested to be installed in the honourable office from which the Sikhs had expelled his family. In common with most of the poorer people he is not to be persuaded that the English have not taken the Punjab. In the inland villages off the road they laugh at me when I decline the sovereignty which they are good enough to attribute to the British Government. May they never be disabused by oppression which is beyond our power to remedy.

Dewan Moolraj, attended by the same Sirdars as called on me yesterday, met me at the quay of Pind Dadun Khan and showed me over the fort and town; pressing me also to stay and partake of an entertainment prepared for me in a tent; this however I declined. In recrossing the river the Dewan opened his heart as to certain cuttings and clippings which are being daily made in his *ilakah,* and which he thinks are unknown to Colonel Lawrence. Afterwards he sent me a written statement which I append in translation. The Dewan explained some reports I had heard of disturbance in Kuchee, between the Jheylum and the Attock, by attributing it to this very system of changing Kardars continually. The zumindars of Kuchee, he says, have heard that Futteh Khan, Towanah, is to get the district; so they refuse to pay the revenue to *him.* Syud Meer Shah, who has charge of Bheyrah for the Sirkar, called on me there. He is an intelligent man of more polished language and address than is common in the Punjab. He was educated by Avitabile, and I remember meeting him at Bhimbur on my return from Jummoo.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

(Dewan Moolraj's statement referred to under " Visits" on 20th February 1847) :—

When the Dewan was first appointed to his present post, he received but one order : that he was to assume charge and government

of all the country lately held by Misr Umeer Chund, together with the Salt Agency as follows :—

The Salt Agency as far as Peshawur.
The villages dependent on Ramnuggur
Kadurabad and Kaloowal.
Pergunnah of Goojurat.
The ilakah of Dingah.
The villages of Dhoreah.
Ilakah of Phaleah.

Heylan, Kohar, Bhimbur, Jalup, Bash, Meeanee, Pind Dadun Khan, Jungur, Kohoon, Dunnee, Jindal, Kuchee, Kohar, Amudabad, Noorpoor Sohuttee, Jubbee, Ghebah, Mittah Towanah, Pukkhur, Khooshab, Shahpoor, Tullahgunge, Kusbah Bheyrah, Lukk, Chahwah, Laleean, Rohtass, Jheylum, Kalah, Sunghooyeean, Sookkho, Kullur, Julalpoor.

Ilakahs that have since been taken away again :—

Goojurat	given to Gobind Sahai.	
Dingah	,, ,, Dyaram.	
Phaleah, Gurhee Lachah Sing, Kohar, Heylan.	given to Mool Sing, Vakeel.	
Kusbah Bheyrah	ditto.	Syud Meer Shah.
Rhotass	ditto.	Misr Roop Lal.
Kullur, Neralee, Sookkho	ditto.	Sirdar Sher Sing.
Jheylum, Julalpoor, Sunghooyeean, Kalah.	ditto.	Misr Roop Lal.

Believes Mittah Towanah is now to be taken away and given to Futteh Khan, Towanah. Kadurabad was taken away and given to Bhaie Dull Sing, against whom the zumindars complained at Lahore, and Dewan Moolraj was ordered to *supervise* it, but leave the country with Dull Sing.

The Salt Agency is now given to the Nizamut of Peshawur, in other words to Sher Sing.

Of the officers with sowars stationed here in Misr Umeer Chund's time only four are now left; and without troops the revenue and other business will be at a standstill.

The names of those with the Dewan are—

Mean Waris Khan	70	Sowars.
Sirdar Lungur Khan	105	do.
Sirdar Himmut Sing	100	do.
Sirdar Jewun Sing, Chachuh ...	50	do.

True translation.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

This statement is full of inaccuracies. The Dewan was sent off the very day of Rajah Lal Sing's removal to assume *temporary* charge of Misr Ameer Chund's *Ilakah*, as the latter was called in to Lahore to give in his accounts.

H. M. LAWRENCE,
Agent, Governor-General.

No. 5.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 22nd to the 24th February 1847.

22nd February 1847.—Marched only 10 miles to-day to Chuck Ramdoss; our camels are weak and the Sirdar's lazy. Dewan Moolraj sent us to-day a timely supply of 50 fresh camels, which will complete the *zumboorahs*, and enable the regiments to leave their worst animals behind. It is bad economy on the part of the Sikh Government not furnishing their camels with gram, particularly on a march. A few rupees are saved; and a great many valuable beasts of burden lost. I should be glad of permission to give a feed of gram, however small, to our camels per diem. The dawk going from camp to Lahore was robbed last night. My diary of 19th, 20th and 21st February was in it. Dewan Moolraj has been complaining to me of the prevalence of robbery in consequence of intermixed authorities, so has his neighbour in this village, Syud Meer Shah; and I have some suspicions that one or the other of them has brought about this dawk robbery as a practical illustration of his complaint. There is a good deal in what they urge; but at least you must put the whole

Punjab under one Kardar to carry out their views. If they thought a little more of their public duty, and a little less of petty personal motives, two Kardars could assist each other in the same ratio that they now impede. They have their own dignity at heart instead of the good of the country. Out of four *urzees* now on my table three are of cases already appealed, heard and decided at Lahore. It only remains to carry out the sentence. In two of these three cases Dewan Moolraj has disregarded the order altogether; and in the other he prevents Syud Meer Shah from doing his duty by harbouring the defendant (who is a résident of Bheyrah) in Pind Dadun Khan, and refusing to give him up. With regard to the robberies in these parts, stealing is evidently the vocation and livelihood of half the population. But the worst sign of the state of the country that I see is this—when theft is brought home there seems to be no restitution. Every village has stolen cows or buffaloes in it; and the owners in most cases know where they are, sooner or later having traced them out. But one Kardar either can't get another to give up the stolen property or receives part of the plunder or is met in his own *Ilakah* with violence. Sirdar Lungur Khan informed me of a village we shall pass to-morrow, which is full of stolen herds; but the zumindars turn out with swords to defend them. He wanted me to send a detachment there, which I declined, not knowing the rights of the case. Had Dewan Moolraj requested my interference, it would have been a different matter. The remedy for this would seem to be in the Kardar going the circuit of his district (supposing him anxious to suppress robbery) as our own authorities are obliged to do. Cases would then be brought before him and be settled on the spot; evils would be discovered where existing, and some remedy applied. Frequent supervision of this kind would do a world of good. At present neither the thieves care for the authorities, nor the authorities for the thieves; unless by accident some obstinate complainant walks all the way to Lahore to lay his case before the Sahibs; and even then—as in the cases mentioned above—who knows whether the Lahore order is carried out or the petitioner punished out of spite on his return? When on a representation of the British authorities the Durbar issue a decree in favour of a complainant, it would be good to call for a statement of such decree having been attended to. While on this subject I may mention a very good plan of General Avitabile's

when he was Kardar of Wuzeerabad, as stated to me by Genera Cortlandt. To prevent extortion on the part either of the Kardar himself or his petty officers, General Avitabile proposed to have a book in every village wherein the instalments paid should be entered at time of payment and signed by both parties: the books once or twice a year being reviewed at Lahore.

23rd February 1847.—Marched to Chachur, 13 miles 6 furlongs. To-morrow we encamp on the left bank of the Jheylum and cross the force next day. Sirdar Shumshere Sing has written to Dewan Moolraj to float down boats from Pind Dadun Khan for the passage. The Sirdar received a *purwannah* yesterday giving him full authority to make any arrangement he might think advisable with the Bunnoo people; to take less than the *aieen* if he thought proper; and either to agree to the revenue being paid at Dera Ismail Khan to Dewan Dowlut Raie, or at Lahore; whichever promised to give most satisfaction.

24th February.—Marched to the Jheylum and encamped on the left bank, opposite Khooshab, 12½ miles. Boats have not yet arrived from Pind Dadun Khan; and there are only 14 now at the ferry. A camel ford is, however, being now marked out. Here commence our difficulties; for the next Doab is described to be very nearly a desert; but there is a good and cheerful spirit throughout the force, and we shall get over our little troubles well enough. I am doing my best to make the men comfortable, by squeezing carriage out of the Kardars *en route*. Last night eleven more camels came in from Dewan Moolraj, making 61 fresh ones—a great relief. We want all we can get, for fodder must be carried for the cattle on the two next marches. Half the force crosses to-morrow, and proceeds next day to Hadalee, where there are only three wells, which could not supply us all. The other half will follow the day after; and all unite again at Mittah Towanah. Sirdar Shumshere Sing has summoned Dewan Dowlut Raie, Kardar of Dera Ismail Khan, and his Jageerdars to join us at Esau Kheyl. After mustering our magazine it appears that General Cortlandt's two regiments and Baboo Pandah's are now made up to 100 rounds of ball cartridge per man; and that Bishun Sing's and Purtab Sing's regiments are the only ones of the Infantry whose magazine has

not come up. The Churunjeet Cavalry Regiment is also in a like predicament. Bishun Sing has heard tidings of its being on the road, and expects it to arrive in three or four days. Neither Purtab Sing nor the Cavalry Colonel have heard of their magazine starting The *zumboorahs* have 100 rounds each swivel. The Futteh Pultun to-day reported from Chung that it had not started to join us, as it is waiting for pay, but as it has not got far to come, I daresay it will come up in good time.

VISITS.

22nd February 1847.—Called this morning on General Cortlandt to report the injury inflicted on the zumindars by the practice common among the sepoys of tearing up and carrying away the dry thorn hedges put round the fields of young corn to guard them from the cattle. I caught several sepoys in the act this morning, and brought them to camp under a guard. On enquiry I find the system is more in fault than the soldiers. No notice is given by the Durbar to Thannadars along a line of road to provide fuel for the army; and the consequence is that as the men cannot be sure that they will find jungle at the halting ground, several out of every company straggle into the fields on either side the line of march and help themselves as they go along. Still it is a great injury to the cultivators; and at a meeting of the Sirdars, General Cortlandt and the Native officers, at my tent this evening, I requested them to put a stop to the practice as far as possible among their men, which they readily promised to do. Of the general conduct of the troops thus far I am happy to make the most favourable reports; and the new system now first authorised by the Durbar, of paying for all supplies of green corn, etc., etc., furnished by the villagers, has proved a very agreeable surprise wherever we came. The eldest son of Futteh Khan, Towanah, rode in 30 *koss* to camp this morning, from Mittah Towanah, to pay his respects. He is a remarkably fine young man; and seems modest and unassuming. He has a jageer at the village we shall reach to-morrow.

23rd February—Camp Chachur.—Sirdar Lungur Khan called to take leave. Gave him "a world of advice" for Dewan Moolraj;

but am afraid words have lost much of their influence since I dispelled a fearful illusion prevalent in these parts—that Rajah Lal Sing had been put on a jackass, and carried all round Agra, with his face blackened!

24th February 1847—Camp opposite Khooshab.—Nihal Chand, nephew of Dewan Moolraj, and Kardar of this place, called with his subordinate officers and chief zumindars. He seems a stupid fellow, and could not give an answer to the commonest question concerning his district without appealing to some of his people.

The Tank Jageerdars called by invitation; and I requested them to write to any of their friends in Bunnoo and tell them that the object of Sirdar Shumshere Sing's mission is not so much to realize arrears of revenue as to make such an arrangement for the future as would give them satisfaction.

In the evening I called on Sirdar Shumshere Sing to discuss arrangements for our further progress. He proposes to write to the Bunnoo Chiefs to-morrow.

General Cortlandt called to show me a *purwannah* he had received from Lahore throwing the whole blame of the sepoys who are absent without leave on him for not communicating to them the good tidings of the new *Batta* regulations, which the *purwannah* says would have made them go!

The General is quite blameless in this respect; having by desire of Colonel Lawrence (and not on any order from the Durbar—for he received none till to-day) informed the men at Lahore that they would get one rupee a month marching *Batta* and eight annas more on crossing the Attock. The *purwannah* from the Durbar, however, only says that when the force crosses the Attock, the men will get one rupee eight annas a month, saying nothing about one rupee marching *Batta*; thus involving General Cortlandt in a new dilemma.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 6.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 24th to the 26th February 1847.

24th February 1847.—Marched to the Jheylum, and encamped on the left bank opposite the town of Khooshab, 12½ miles—cultivation the whole way. Overhauled the ammunition to-day, and found that the magazine of General Cortlandt's and Baboo Pandah's Regiments has come up, completing those three corps to 100 rounds a man. Bishun Singh's regimental magazine is reported within a few marches of us; so that Purtab Singh's Regiment alone of the Infantry now with us will then be unsupplied. The Futteh Pultun reports not having yet marched, being delayed for want of pay. It also reports sundry deficiencies of tents, carriage, etc., etc., and as ammunition is not among them, that essential is probably to the fore. The Churunjeet Cavalry Regiment has no magazine: but they have their swords, which are of much more use. The Durbar has sent a severe reprimand to General Cortlandt for not communicating to the force the new order about *Batta*, an omission to which the absence of so many sepoys without leave is strangely enough attributed. Had General Cortlandt omitted to tell the men of the new order the Durbar could not blame him, for he assures me that they have up to this day given him no authority to do so. But he *did* tell the men on his own responsibility, and by desire of Colonel Lawrence, that they were to have one rupee extra while marching between the Beas and the Attock, and on crossing the latter river eight annas extra—perhaps one rupee eight annas, for on this point there was a doubt—but certainly eight annas. All the Native officers, when I joined the camp at the Chenab, told me they had heard this from General Cortlandt, but should like to see the *Sirkaree purwannah*, so that I think the blame lies with the Durbar, who are of course anxious to shift it on anybody else's shoulders. The same with the magazine. At the time when the Durbar was interrogated by Colonel Lawrence they might with truth say they had sent off ample stores, but at the Chenab the force was without any.

25th February—Camp Khooshab.—The guns and Cavalry and the two regiments of Infantry crossed to-day to the other bank, and proceed to-morrow—the Artillery and Infantry to Hadalee, 7 *koss*; the Cavalry to

Mittah Towanah, 12 *koss*. We follow them across the river to-morrow, and each division will move on independently across the Doab, one day ahead of each other, for the convenience of water, which is very scarce. We all unite again at Meeanwallee, on the bank of the Attock, where we shall also be joined by the Futteh Pultun, which has now reported its departure from Chung. At my request Sirdar Shumshere Sing this day opened a communication with the Chiefs of Bunnoo. They are reported to be divided into two factions, headed one by Sher Must Khan, the other by Jaffir Khan. With the former "march" Bazeed Khan, Dillassah Khan, Lal Baz Khan, and Babur Khan; with the latter Meer Alum Khan, Mooseh Khan, Bhubur Khan, Aladad Khan and Feroz Khan. The Sardar therefore sent two *purwannahs*, one to each leader, and I backed him with two others to the same addresses, in which I endeavoured to assure them that the object of this expedition was essentially different from that of all preceding ones—peace and not war, "*abadee*," not "*weeranee*." *Tusullee* would seem the only remedy for such a distracted country as Bunnoo. Scared by tyranny and inhumanity, they must be tamed by gentleness and justice. Shumshere Sing (who is very amenable) sent me the rough draft of his letters to look over. I am glad he did; for his strain was anything but comforting, "*Malgoozaree*" being the prominent topic throughout! We then entrusted the despatches to Khutty Kheyl's *Motbir*, a stout good-natured rascal, who will, I think, carry *them* through any difficulty. The people of Bunnoo have a character for admiring fine clothes, which probably they very seldom see; and whenever an expedition is sent that way, it always goes well armed with *loongees* and scarfs of blinding brilliancy. Sirdar Shumshere Sing judged this a fit opportunity of throwing out a bait, so he conferred a crimson Mooltanee *khes*, and a scarlet *pug*, edged with gold, on the departing messenger, and said, "when the Chiefs of Bunnoo see that *khes* and that *pug* they will all come running in to camp to get one themselves." This is something like Captain Cook trading at Owyhee with glass beads and mirrors. I gave him also Rs. 150 "to buy a horse," but more in the hope that he would give it to his master, Shah Niwaz Khan, a poor imbecile boy, in great poverty. Doubtless he will, for he must be a faithful native who has followed an idiot into exile.

26th February 1847—Camp Khooshab.—The rest of our force is now crossing the Jheylum. I went across before breakfast to see the

town which is built chiefly of mud on the edge of the high right bank of the river. It has been repeatedly visited by floods which carried away whole quarters of the town, yet with the apathy or local attachment of natives they are still "rooted on Lethe's wharf." Khooshab has a wretched appearance for this reason; here the traces of a street swept away, there a few Bunniyahs have taken commercial courage, and are building up again. The Kardar himself lives in the last half of what was once a fort, the side next the river having long since floated away in its own great moat—the Jheylum.

The river is here nearly half a mile wide, being the united force of two channels in which it flows about two *koss* higher up. Below Khooshab it divides again. The water is of a golden hue. At this time there is both a camel and a horse ford marked out; and there are 26 boats at the ferry; but these have been brought from as high up as Pind Dadun Khan, and as low down as Sahewal. I find it has not been the custom to remunerate these poor boatmen for the loss they sustain in leaving their respective ferries to come and pass over the Sirkar's army. The plea is that "they are the Sirkar's ryots." So I sent word to the Sirdar out of the Goolistan that "the shepherd was for the sheep and not the sheep for the shepherd," and as usual found a quotation from the adored Sheikh Sadi quite irresistible. He promises to remunerate each boat's crew according to the distance they have come and the time they have lost. Late last evening I received intelligence that Dewan Dowlut Raie, with Nawabs Hyatoollah Khan, Sumoondur Khan and other Jageerdars of Tank and Dera Ismael Khan, are on their way to join us, and having raised the siege of the fort of Lukkee *en passant* are now approaching Esau Kheyl.

Copy of a letter from Lieutenant E*DWARDES to Mullicks Sher Must Khan, Jaffir Khan, etc., etc., Chief men of Bunnoo,—dated Khooshab, 25th February 1847.*

You are aware that a large force of horse and foot and Artillery has been despatched by the Maharajah to Bunnoo and having crossed the Jheylum is now approaching.

The Chiefs of Bunnoo are in arrears of revenue; and it has been the custom of the Lahore State whenever the Bunnoo revenue was in

arrear to send an army to enforce its payment; and as the Commanders of those armies had but one object in view, *viz.*, to realize the revenue, they did so at any cost—by violence, by the sword, by burning your villages and seizing your families. In the end you paid the revenue, but your country was laid waste.

Now I write this to tell you that the army now approaching is not coming with any such intentions, and will not act in the same manner. Maharajah Duleep Sing is young, but he is wise; and he wishes to cultivate and not to devastate his territory. He desires not merely to exact the arrears which you owe, but to make such an arrangement with you for the future as will make you happy subjects, contented to pay a fair and moderate tribute to a kind King.

With this view he has not sent the army under the command of a grasping and severe Kardar, but has placed at its head Sirdar Shumshere Sing, Sindunwallah, a Sirdar of old and honorable family, one of the pillars of the State, a member of the Council and as distinguished for kindness of disposition as for bravery in battle. He has full authority to make any settlement with you which will make you contented and happy, either to pay the revenue as usual at Dera Ismael Khan or at Lahore; and I advise you, if you care for your own welfare, to hasten to meet him, make your submission, and explain your wishes, and with what arrangement the Chiefs and people will be best pleased.

I repeat that the object of this army is to settle and not to ruin the country of Bunnoo.

Come in then without delay or fear. The safety and honor of every man who comes in is on my head.

I have written a similar letter to Jaffir Khan, etc., etc.

Communicate these good tidings to all your friends.

Visits.

24th February 1847—Khooshab.—Sent for all Tank Nawabs and Jageerdars; and desired them each to write to his own friends, if he had any in Bunnoo, to quiet their apprehension and assure them of the

Maharajah's wish to make a peaceful settlement with that country. As an illustration of these people :—I proposed to send the *Motbir* of Shah Niwaz Khan, an exile from Khutty Kheyl, with letters to the Chiefs of Bunnoo. After the interviews one of the Nawabs sneaked back and confidentially informed me that he and Shah Niwaz Khan were at issue, his family now holding what Shah Niwaz's family once held, and if the '*Khidmut*' was entrusted to the latter's man, the negotiation would not prosper ; in other words that he—the Nawab—would take care it did not ! Told him to leave the tent and to take care he did not have to leave the camp also. He has since expressed his contrition, but I shall take care not to place much reliance on his "sense of public duty" !

The Kardar of Khooshab, nephew of Dewan Moolraj, called with his people: seems obtuse and uninformed on matters concerning his district ; could not answer a question without "a flapper."

This evening I called on Sirdar Shumshere Sing for the first time. He was much pleased; and we sat long, hearing the Lahore *Ukhbars* and discussing measures for our further progress. He wanted me to accept a horse, but got rid of it on the plea of the custom being only applicable to "houses," and not to visits in camp.

25th February 1847—Camp Khooshab.—Jowahir Khan, Baloch, son of the old Nawab of this place, conquered by Runjeet Sing, called to say that now the English were lords of the Punjab, of course we should restore him his ancient lands. He expressed the most violent enmity to all Sikhs, and confidentially advised me to get rid of every Sirdar of Runjeet's time, without which it is hopeless to settle the Punjab.

The British Government has a difficult part to play between the oppressed Musulmans and the oppressing Sikhs. The former excite a pity now that they are in distress ; but listen to their sentiments, and there is no need of history to convince you that if to-morrow they had the power they would be oppressors themselves. Between *zalim* and *muzloom* the native knows no middle state. The simple fact of my presence with the force emboldened the Musulmans of Khooshab to proclaim their hour of prayer, and, as it were, celebrate "high mass." The consequence naturally was that some very orthodox beards were

pulled out by the roots ! and then they come to me for redress—for justice—after showing the most offensive spirit towards their neighbours.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 7.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 26th to the 28th February 1847.

26th February 1847.—In the evening I followed Sirdar Shumshere Sing and the rest of the force across the river to Khooshab, and received a visit from Dewan Hookum Chund (son of Dewan Bughwan Dass, an old and well-known servant of Runjeet Sing) deputed from the office of Dewan Deena Nath to accompany the expedition to Bunnoo and just arrived from Lahore. There is a good-natured pomposity about him which is exceedingly amusing, as if to say "I am the son of a great man: look at me !"

27th February.—Marched to Hadalee ten miles: grass and scrubby jungle the whole way. Not a field and scarcely a human being to be seen. The world seems left behind by mistake. Hadalee is a miserable heap of mud huts with two wells of brackish water. All day long and half the night were the sepoys and camp followers fighting and brawling round these wells, and I know not what we should have done if the force had not divided. The zumindars say the water obtained from wells here is unfit for irrigation ; and, consequently, the only fields they have are just under the hills. The inhabitants earn a hard livelihood by grazing cows and hiring out camels to salt speculators going to Hindustan. The scarcity of water here is so distressing, and so *impolitic* also on public grounds, that I think the Maharajah's *nuzzurs* and *surwarnahs* received by me on the road cannot be better expended than in sinking a large well of masonry, for the benefit not only of the inhabitants, but of troops passing to and fro. The zumindars say Rs. 300 is the average cost of a small *pucka* well in these parts.. I will leave Rs. 500 in the hands of the Kardar, and a chupprassee to see the work completed. Letters came in from Dowlut Raie's camp reporting his Lukkee victory and the Dewan's approach to join us. The messenger came across the

Indus at the Koondool ferry, which is just opposite Meeanwallee, which they report to be all in one stream at this season of the year, hard ground on both banks and in every way convenient. It would save us a long round by Kalabagh if we could cross here, and I sent to consult Sirdar Shumshere Sing about it. After enquiry it was agreed to cross at Koondool, and I sent off by a *Shootur Sowar* a *purwannah* from Shumshere Sing to the Kardar of Esau Kheyl to collect 40 boats at that ferry without delay.

28th February 1847.--Marched to Mittah Towanah, 6½ miles, a short march but plenty of excellent water. Hence the people say the place is called *Mittah*, a Punjabee version of *Meetah*, sweet. Hadalee might well be called "Marah." The country still grass plain sprinkled with thorns, but not a cow or buffalo to be seen, the screaming rock-pigeon the only living thing. The herds are now all gone to the hills for pasture. Mittah Towanah is something between a large village and a small town; the houses all of mud. Standing as it were sentry over it is a square mud fort by the roadside, originally built by Sirdar Hurree Sing. A broad but shallow ditch runs round it; the walls are high and loopholed, with an eight foot rampart inside; a bastion at each corner; and in the centre of the area a tall tower of solid mud two-thirds of its height from the ground; the other and upper third being rooms for prisoners, who are here effectually confined without chain or fetter, by the simple process of taking away the ladder. The idea is quaint and tempered with a touch of humanity. The gateway is of brick and was the residence of Futteh Khan and his family; but Rajah Lal Sing turned them out, and put a royal thannah of about 50 men into the fort, who hold it still. Futteh Khan's family now inhabit a dilapidated dwelling in the village. In the same gateway over which the Mullick used to live dwells on the ground floor a grey-bearded *Grunthee*, who told me with a little holy pride that amidst all the *troubles*, nobody ever troubled *him*. The possessors of the fort in turn respected his tenure and peaceful life. When Runjeet Sing first went to Bunnoo he begged the *Grunthee's* blessing and gave him a small pension, which he still enjoys. I begged one also and gave him Rs. 20. There is one well in the Fort, and seven in the village. I think they said there were also seven *musjeeds*. Approaching Mullick Futteh Khan's district, Dewan Moolraj, Sirdar Lungur Khan, and others whom I asked, described him uniformly

as treacherous to his equals; generous to extravagance; charitable; sharing his means liberally with all who could claim kin with him and were content to claim no more, but enduring no rivalry in the "Towanah" chieftainship. (In no part of the Punjab have I seen the feeling of clanship so strong as here: the meanest cowherd thinks he has said enough when he has told you that he is a "Towanah.") Sirdar Lungur Khan, who is himself some connection of Futteh Khan, but evidently dislikes him very much, told me that he believed "if there were seven men in one house and Futteh Khan was to murder them all but one, the survivor would say, 'Never mind: Futteh Khan did it: they are his sacrifice!'" Certainly, I have heard little or no complaint in his neighbourhood against *him*, though much against Saheb Khan, Towanah, to whom Lal Singh gave part of the district (12 villages, in two of which he never obtained *dukhal* owing to the Rajah's sudden deposition)—see column of Visits. There is one complaint against his son (in Lahore) for seizing property in a village near Pind Dadun Khan, but Futteh Sher Khan, his brother, states it was for arrears of revenue. On the whole there seems to be no doubt about his unscrupulousness in removing rivals or enemies from his path, but, comparing him with other *Kardars* whose districts I have been passing through, I do not believe he can be oppressive; or I should have heard something of it. Of course they all try to keep back complainants; but in spite of intimidation, *urzees* overwhelmed me on the other side of the Jheylum. (Moolraj is not answerable for *most* of them, farther than that he does not seem to take any notice of what occurred before his own time.)

VISITS.

27th February 1847—Hadalee.—When at Chachur, the incongruity of being accompanied by the Tank Jageerdars and by the son of their enemy Mullick Futteh Khan struck me so forcibly that I determined to send Futteh Sher Khan on ahead. Shumshere Sing had come to the same conclusion; so we agreed to despatch the young Mullick to Mittah Towanah to make arrangements for supplies. He was somewhat like his father however—hard to get rid of; and sending off a follower to collect the *russud*, he was by my horse's side again next day as usual. So I told him plainly my reasons for wishing his absence, and he departed forthwith to Mittah Towanah, as I thought. To my astonishment one

of the first men I saw in Hadalee this morning was young Futteh Sher Khan, coming out with smiles and *zeeafuts* to meet me! Never did he look more like his father. With the utmost innocence he "thought I meant the *ilakah* of Mittah Towanah of which Hadalee is the *hud*." I reproved him sharply and sent him on to Mittah. In the course of the day I discovered the cause of his anxiety to be with me, for I was waited on by a cousin of Futteh Khan's, named Saheb Khan, Towanah, who claimed the village of Hadalee by virtue of a *purwannah* from Rajah Lal Sing. I told him to give me a copy of it and I would call on Futteh Sher Khan for an explanation.

28th February 1847—Mittah Towanah.—Mullick Futteh Sher Khan, with a cousin and nephew of his father's, called to present me with a *zeeafut* and horse on coming to his father's house. I tried hard to avoid the latter but could not without offence. I called on him, however, to explain why Saheb Khan had not got possession of Hadalee, and another village mentioned in the *purwannah*, and he declared that no opposition on his part had been offered; but it was taken for granted, when Lal Sing was deposed, that his acts were null and void! He offered to reinstate Saheb Khan if I thought it right, but represented that Lal Sing had issued this grant, when Futteh Khan was exerting himself with me to bring in Sheikh Emam-oo-deen, out of resentment at his (Futteh Khan's) siding with the British. In effect the *purwannah* is dated *Asooj*, and I can corroborate the young Mullick's statement so far that I remember, when Futteh Khan came back from (I think) his first mission to Cashmere, he told me he heard that Lal Sing was so angry with him that he had given "some of his very patrimony to his kinsmen and servants." Finally, I told both parties that I would refer the matter to Lahore, when a decisive order would be given.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 8.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 1st to the 5th March 1847.

1st March 1847.—Marched from Mittah Towanah to Wahn-i-Khyreh, 13½ miles of jungle and barren ground; not a field. Received

a letter from Mullick Jaffir Khan of Bunnoo expressing entire submission and pleasure at the prospect of his country being settled. High and low, the messenger says, are rejoicing at their escape from devastation. Peace patched up on the occasion between Jaffir Khan and his rival Sher Must Khan. Replied to the Mullick's letter with a copy of my letter of the other day.

2nd March 1847.—Marched to Wahn-i-Bhuchur, 15 miles, still the same dreary jungle of grass and thorns. "*Wahn*" in these parts signifies a pond scraped in the earth to catch rain water, and such is the value of pure water in this district that a hole of this kind gives celebrity to the village near it. Yet there are only three in the whole breadth of the Doab, and the tradition is that some Conqueror dug them to smooth the road of his army up to Cabul. Between this "*Wahn*" and the last are two singular eminences covered with graves and tombstones, and seeming in the distance like two crowds of living men assembled round some prophet or politician. The one is the hereditary cemetery of Khyreh, the other of Bhuchur; and they say that though a native of either village may go to seek his livelihood elsewhere, his body is, if possible, always brought here to be buried. This accounts for the prodigious numbers of the tombs, out of all proportion to the present population; though an old Sikh who was riding along with me this morning, with the utmost gravity, declared that Sirdar Hurree Sing had killed them all! Rude figures of flowers are scrawled in whitewash over the upright stones, and on one of more pretensions than the rest was an attempt at Muluk-ool-mout, riding on his ghastly charger, but bearing in his hand a cup of water, a sign that the dead man lived well and died in peace. The village of Bhuchur-ke-Wahn is in the *ilakah* of Kuchee, and has the reputation of being the head-quarters of the thieves and bad characters of the district. They have a blood feud with the village of Peepul, which is in the Mooltan *ilakah*; and it has gone to such lengths that all the women, children, flocks and herds of Bhuchur have been obliged to go to the hills leaving the men to fight it out. Dewan Moolraj, of Mooltan, has sent one officer with 30 sowars and 5 *zumboorahs* to defend Peepul, and if possible effect an accommodation. If I have time I will send for the Peepul villagers and enquire into the case. By letters from Dowlut Raie and Hyatoollah Khan I learn that Meer Alum Khan has come in to the former.

3rd March 1847.—Went to Meeanwallee, ten miles; about half the distance grass jungle as usual, the rest sand, thinly interspersed with cultivation. This is just the top of the great Thull, or sand tract which runs down this Doab to the Sutlej. Great complaints of the conduct of the sowars of the Churunjeet Regiment, who came on here with the first detachment. These men have their own horses, and consequently Government does not pay for their fodder. The men therefore profit by plundering the green corn which the Artillery do not. I have informed Colonel Jodh Sing that neither he nor his regiment move from here till he produces the *razeenamahs* of the villagers for every day's supplies. I have also summoned the zumindars of Peepul to see if I can get them to compromise with their enemies of Bhuchur, and end the feud.

4th March.—The paucity of boats renders it necessary to divide again into detachments. General Cortlandt with the Artillery, two Infantry regiments and the Churunjeet sowars marched this morning to the bank of the Indus, about nine *koss*. (*N. B.*—The Churunjeets soon settled with the zumindars when they found their conduct had been complained of, and I attribute their license to the carelessness of Jodh Sing, their Commanding Officer, who is not worth his salt.) This morning may be considered decisive of the present settlement with Bunnoo, for it has brought letters of the most satisfactory nature from almost every Chief in the valley; and news of Mullick Jaffir Khan (one of the most influential among them) having already joined Dewan Dowlut Raie at Esau Kheyl. The question of peace or war being now disposed of, the details alone remain, and the easy terms I am authorized to agree to cannot fail to make all rejoice that they have chosen the present course. News of a tiger between here and the river. Sirdar Shumshere Sing and half the army gone in quest of it. All this day till dark taken up with hearing *urzees* and replies. I take this opportunity of exonerating Mullick Saheb Khan, Towanah. In my Diary of 28th February, I think I mentioned that there were a great many complaints against him in the Mittah Towanah district. I handed the *urzees* all over to him for answers; and have this day heard his replies *seriatim*, which are perfectly satisfactory. I mention this that my former remark may not prejudice his claim against his relative Futteh Khan to the *ilakah* of Hadalee and Buttalah. He seems a very respectable man, and I am afraid the cry was raised against him by Futteh Sher Khan.

5th March 1847—Meeanwallee.—Bishun Sing's regimental magazine has reached Hadalee, four marches in the rear, Purtab Sing's is reported at Ramnuggur still, and the Futteh Pultun will not be here for ten days, about time to return with us to Lahore.

This day has been very satisfactory. First came on the Bhuchur revenue; and after a five hours' fight a settlement was made not only for the last *khurreef*, (the point at issue), but for the *rubbee* now on the ground, and the *khurreef* after it. What is the best part of it, both parties are happy, and poor Doonnee Chund with tears in his eyes says I have now collected all the revenue of Kuchee for him by this morning's work. Next we took up the blood feud between the same village, Bhuchur-ke-Wahn, and a tract called Lumbuh in the Mooltan *ilakah*, on the bank of the Indus. The details of this case may appear almost incredible ; as an abstract I may merely mention that enmity has been existing—now open—now suppressed—between them for years, and that the balance at last stands thus between them (for so exact and scrupulous are they in their law of retaliation that they keep a regular account of floating injuries, and expended men) :—

	Loss on the side of the	
	Lumbuhs.	Bhuchurs.
Cows, buffaloes, calves, etc., carried off in open forays	1,424	796
Sheep, goats, etc. ...	220	0
Camels ...	25	5
Horses ...	3	2
Cash	Rs. 283-2	96
Men killed ...	29	22

Both parties have at last consented to a mutual restitution of plunder, by solemn oath, each claimant laying his hands on the body of a sacred Peer in this village, and then to bring any future wrongs into court and not appeal to the sword. The affair is one of such importance that to give more weight to the decision I have put it off till to-morrow.

VISITS.

1st March 1847—Camp Wahn-i-Khyreh.—Received visits from Sirdar Shumshere Sing, Dewan Gunput Raie, Commanding the Ghor-

churras, Dewan Hookum Chund, Mullick Futteh Sher Khan, Saheb Khan, etc.—compliments and matters of camp detail.

2nd March 1847—Wahn-i-Bhuchur.—Dewan Doonnee Chund, Kardar of Kuchee, called, and again paid me a visit in the evening: on this last occasion he asked my permission to seize and confine the chief zumindars who would not pay the revenue. He says he has been six months Kardar of Kuchee, yet they have never paid their respects to him till the arrival of this force. I declined to sanction any violence of which I did not know the grounds, and sent a *purwannah* to the zumindars to attend at my tent to-morrow. The better to find out how matters stood, I told my Moonshee to go with the *purwannah*, on hearing which Doonnee Chund and his people immediately rose to take leave; but I kept them in conversation for fully half an hour, during which they looked at each other in the most piteous manner, and worked themselves into such a state of agitation that I could not help laughing. It turned out that Doonnee Chund had first collected the zumindars in the fort, and then come to ask my leave to keep them there! Bidding them all be present at Meeanwallee to-morrow, I released them.

3rd March—Meeanwallee.—Dewan Gunput Raie, who commands the Ghorchurras, and General Cortlandt paid me visits. The latter says he hears there are quicksands between us and the Indus and has sent his two companies of Sappers and Miners on ahead to prepare the road through the jungle, slope off the *nullahs*, and report on the ground. I think it would not have killed him to have gone himself.

Dewan Doonnee Chund called and fixed to-morrow for hearing the Bhuchur case. It is very intricate, and the witnesses have to be collected.

4th March—Meeanwallee.—Dewan Doonnee Chund, Kardar of Kuchee, attended with his officers by appointment to settle the Bhuchur-ke-Wahn revenue, but after many hours' inquiry and listening to the most conflicting statements, I was unable to see my way and adjourned it till to-morrow at sunrise. I will not leave here till it is settled, more especially as Doonnee Chund (who seems quite helpless) declares the whole district is looking to this one village and will either pay or withhold the revenue as he or the Bhuchur *Punch* gain the victory. The last Kardar, Shamah, or Sham Dass, died, and his papers are nowhere

forthcoming; so that the district is plunged into confusion; and poor Doonnee Chund has a hard game to play.

Dewan Hookum Chund called and was very much in the way. I do not know what he came here for, nor does he seem to know himself. Having nothing to do, he bores me, and calls it *khidmut.*

5th March 1847—Meeanwallee.—Dewan Gunput Raie and a tentful of fine old Ghorchurras called and had a long twaddle about "the great Maharajah" who never appeared greater to them than when he drowned 1,200 of them by swimming the Attock, himself safe on an elephant. Dewan Doonnee Chund has been with me all day from 7 A.M. to 7 P.M. (with exception of one hour I gave him at noon to eat a *chupattee*).

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 9.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 6th to the 11th March 1847.

6th March 1847.—I cannot remember, and have no note of, the date up to which I last sent in my Diary, but the whole of the three days I remained at Meeanwallee (March 4th, 5th and 6th), while the force was crossing the Indus was devoted to the settlement of three cases which were disturbing the entire district of Kuchee:—

Case 1st.—Dispute between the Kardar Doonnee Chund and the villagers of the *ilakah* of Bhuchur-ke-Wahn as to the amount of the last *khurreef* instalment of revenue.

Case 2nd.—Blood feud between the same *ilakah* of Bhuchur-ke-Wahn and a district called Punjkot, or Lumbuh, in the Mooltan territory.

Case 3rd.—Dispute between Doonnee Chund and the *ilakah* of Moch as to last *khurreef*, same as Case No. 1.

The first was settled to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, who agreed moreover to settle the revenue of the two next crops at the same rate, and did so accordingly. The last was settled equally to the satisfaction of the parties concerned, by compromise, I being the

only person who thought it was no settlement at all, but my only business being to make peace and do justice when called on, I could do no more. The second case was the one of the most importance and interest, amounting as it did to a civil war between two *ilakahs*, which has lasted for nearly 20 years, but has broken out into great violence during the last two. When Futteh Khan, Towanah, was Kardar of Dera Ismael Khan and Kuchee, he interfered, and settled this dispute: but the restitution of property involved a new quarrel, and a new list of robberies and murders is the consequence. I made out a catalogue of 29 men killed on one side and 22 on the other; and about 3,000 head of cattle stolen, *i.e.*, carried off, for the characteristic of this quarrel is its open violence, and daylight attacks—neither party make or take any account of accidental thefts in the night. Both sides finally agreed to a mutual restitution of plunder upon oath solemnly sworn at a tomb in Meeanwallee, the family mausoleum of three holy brothers, who reside here and are reverenced far and wide for the sanctity of their lives and the miracles which they work. This restitution is to be made within the space of a month, under penalty of paying double as a security for the future when the past shall have been thus wiped out. Both parties signed a bond by which the heads of each village undertook to be responsible for the community they govern, *i.e.*, within ten days after the robbery of a cow from the Lumbuhs, the *Punch* of Bhuchur-ke-Wahn engaged to give up both the cow and thief to the Kardar, or pay 20 rupees, and so on, and within one month after the murder of a Bhuchur, the Lumbuh *Punches* engage to deliver over the murderer to the Kardar or pay 1,100 rupees. For wounds, proportionate fines were fixed. The bonds given and taken were conned and cogitated word by word by both sides, and both seemed really happy with the end thus put to the feud which has almost ruined them. At sunset on the evening of the last day of this inquiry the Lumbuh and Bhuchur villagers went out and knelt down side by side to offer up their evening prayer, and the sight was imposing in spite of the reflection that these murderers and robbers were most excellent and pious Musulmen!

To interest the holy Fukeers of Meeanwallee in the adjustment of the above dispute, I paid a visit to the oldest, by name Chiragh Alee, and when the case was settled sent 300 rupees to the three brothers to

be distributed in charity among their disciples and the poor, but they only accepted Rs. 10 each, and had worldly wisdom enough to ask me for a writing which should secure the continuance of their little village communities when the Punjab passes into the hands of the British Government! Of course I refused, but promised to make interest at Lahore for a *Dhurumurth* from the Maharajah.

7th March 1847.—Marched to Muheye Ghat on the left bank of the Indus, 11 miles, of which about half was an uninterrupted sheet of green corn; the rest nearest the river high reedy jungle. They say this jungle when Runjeet first came this way extended 40 *koss* inland, and a road through it for the army was opened by putting four elephants abreast and making them go on in front, crushing, tearing down and trampling under foot the undisturbed vegetation of years.

This morning I received letters from Sher Must Khan, Bazeed Khan, Mooseh Khan, Lal Baz Khan, Alladad Khan, etc., etc., written from near Lukkee in Murwut. They are on their way, and will be in camp to-morrow.

Late last evening things did not look very favourably. Sher Alee, whom I had sent to Bunnoo to bring in the Mullicks, wrote that he rather doubted their coming without further assurances, as they were "distracted with conflicting orders," *i.e.*, everybody wanted them to come to *him* first; so not to give offence they were coming to nobody! This mischief is caused by Dewan Dowlut Raie, who is Kardar of Dera Ismael Khan, and thinks his honor is concerned in bringing in the Bunnoo Mullicks, to accomplish which he sent a Vukeel to Bunnoo, and the Vukeel, finding persuasion of no avail, boldly asserted that his master was to have the farming of their revenue, and had already got the *khillut* of investment from Lahore. After consulting with Sirdar Shumshere Sing therefore I packed off Shah Niwaz Khan of Khutty Kheyl, by moonlight, with fresh letters to the Mullicks, assuring them that Dowlut Raie had nothing to say to the settlement of their revenue, which is in the hands of Sirdar Shumshere Sing, to whose tent they had better go straight and make their submission. As a further proof of Shah Niwaz's authority I sent two troopers of the 11th Irregular Cavalry along with him.

Sketch of a ferry boat on the Indus.

(Vide page 37)



8th March 1847.—Crossed the Indus and encamped on the right bank, under the Khyssore range. The Indus here is about a mile in width and this is its lowest. It is a grand river even now, and when in flood, extending its arms over each side for miles and making islands of valleys, it must be one of the noblest in the world. Annexed is a rough sketch of one of the ferry-boats from memory, which I give for the curiosity of the rudder, the clumsiest adaptation of the principle of the "lever" I ever saw. The oars proclaim the depth and rapidity of the river. On the Jheylum, the Chenab, the Ravee, and even the Sutlej the boats are worked along by poles. I saw two boatloads of Ghorchurras cross here, and cease to wonder at the rapidity with which the Sikh armies perform the passage of a river. All order is thrown aside: the moment a boat touches the side an unanimous rush is made towards it by everybody on the shore; some horses jump in, some back, kick, and are pushed by those behind either where they ought to go or into the river; blows are dealt about on all sides; each man shouts at the top of his voice to his neighbour, but nobody listens. Every man for himself is the order of the day, and when forty or fifty men and horses have scuffled their way on board, and the boat will bear no more, the boatmen push off without any warning and precipitate half a dozen candidates for admission into the mud. The excitement that prevails is something quite extraordinary, and a bystander would suppose either that the troops were in hot pursuit of a flying enemy or were themselves hard pressed and their lives depending on gaining the other bank. Within four *koss* of Muheye Ghat in the Khyssore range, I was informed, stands Kafir Kote, which I had the greatest curiosity to visit, but could not find time. Masson talks of coming on Kafir Kote on his road from Bunnoo to Kohat; but I suppose he has jumbled his notes. General Cortlandt procured this morning a specimen of naptha which oozes out of a hill close by in abundance. The natives are either ignorant of or indifferent to its commercial value, and only use it as a cure for sores on their camel's backs. Camels hereabouts are plentiful and cheap; a man in one of General Cortlandt's regiments bought two for rupees ten each. General Cortlandt tried the range of some shells manufactured at Lahore this evening, and found them very true to 700 yards.

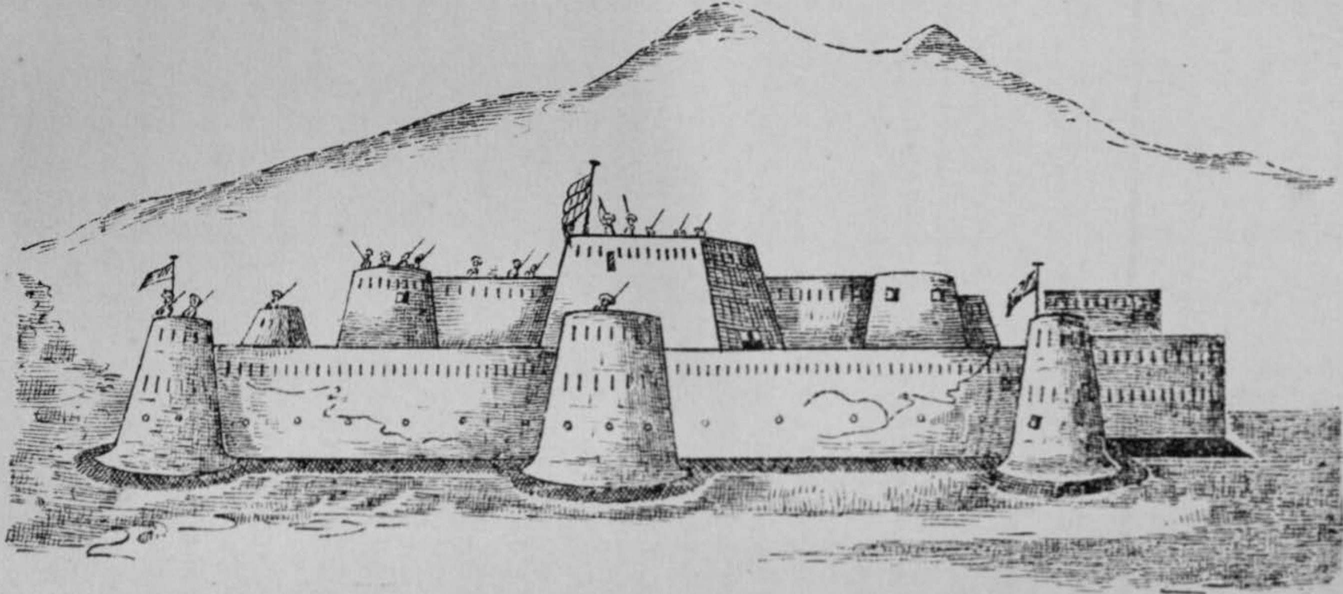
9th March.—Marched to Durrah-i-Tung, 11½ miles from Muheye Ghat. The road leads up the stream of the Koorrum river, which

flows through Bunnoo, and, after irrigating Murwut and Esau Kheyl, pours itself into the Indus near our last encamping ground. This march is intersected with dams and dikes, and was most fatiguing to the cattle. Our magazine carts had not come up when I went to bed. Sher Alee Khan having ridden his horse to death in his journey to Bunnoo, I gave him this morning in its stead the prancing Punjabee beast that Futteh Khan Towanah's son presented me at Mittah Towanah. He is delighted to get it and all the syces to get rid of it. As a proof to the people of Bunnoo that we have no intention of devastating their country, I have advised Sirdar Shumshere Sing to leave our Ghorchurras behind here, and the Churunjeet Cavalry at Lukkee, which is about 15 miles from here and the same distance from Bunnoo, only taking on with us about 500 sowars. This will prevent any altercation about green corn, at least in Bunnoo.

10th March 1847.—Marched six miles to Dera Futteh Jung, so called after a victory gained here by Nawab Shere Mohummud Khan of Dera Ismael Khan over a large force of Murwut insurgents. A tree or two mark the spot; there is no house within miles. It is on the right bank of the Koorrum river, on one side of whose stream stretches the valley of Murwut, and on the other that of Khuttuk. Hills close in the horizon on every side, and the atmosphere is oppressive. The traveller who has referred to Thornton's Gazetteer for a description of Murwut will expect to find a paradise, overrun with happy peasants, who have nothing to do but reap spontaneous harvests. *We* find it at this moment a desert; sand, sand, sand, on every side, scantily sprinkled with herbs which seem sick of the attempt to live. Not a human being to be seen. Such a desolate scene I never saw. The explanation is this: Murwut is entirely dependent on rain for cultivation. Although a plain, it is full of undulations, and its level is in general highest on the banks of the two rivers which flow through it, and even if the water could be drawn up on the fields, canals would be of no use in the sandy soil which covers the whole valley. With the exception therefore of a low patch here and there on the banks of the Koorrum or Goombeelah, Murwut produces nothing without rain. Should rain fall, however, the soil makes up for lost time, and puts forth the most luxuriant harvests. Hence this valley is always either a desert or a garden. The last season has been one of drought, from the Salt Range to Sungurh, and consequently not a green thing is to be seen.

Fort of Lukkee in Murwut.

(Vide page 39.)



(Signed.) Herbert B. Edwardes.
March 12th 1847.

11th March 1847.—Marched to Lukkee, the chief town in Murwut, nine miles and a half. About half way between Lukkee and Dera Futteh Jung, the Koorrum is joined by the Goombeelah. The road which had led previously up the right bank of the former river then leads up the right bank of the latter for two or three miles, when it crosses the Goombeelah and comes in sight of the Fort of Lukkee. In a very excellent map of Afghanistan (by Lieutenant Macartney) which accompanies Elphinstone's "Kingdom of Cabool" and which gives the countries on this side of the Indus with more fullness and general accuracy than any other map I have met with, Lukkee is wrongly placed south of the Goombeelah. It lies north of that river, in the angle between it and the Koorrum; and its inhabitants fill their water pots from the Goombeelah, and irrigate there scanty fields with the Koorrum. About 200 yards from the Fort stands the town of Lukkee, or rather the ruins of that town, for half the houses are now roofless and the bare walls all black and burnt. The reed roofs of the other half are evidently only just put on. The streets are strewn with fragments of a great fire, and the whole place has a most forlorn appearance. The story is as follows:—The revenue of Murwut, with the exception of a few dues on imported goods, is derived from two sources, first a sixth of the produce of the soil, and secondly a capitation tax called *putka,* imposed on all males old enough to wear the turban, at the rate of 4 rupees a head. There are four zillahs in Murwut—Byram Kheyl, Dreyplarah, Tajazye and Moosah Kheyl. The two latter being nearest the hills, always escape payment: the inhabitants first refusing, and then if much pressed flying. It is difficult to get the truth out of a Kardar, but I fancy the other two zillahs are never very willing to pay, and only do so when obliged. Most probably it was for this reason that Futteh Khan, Towanah, built the strong mud fort, of which a rude sketch is attempted overleaf. But be that as it may, when Nizam Khan called on the men of Byram Kheyl and Dreyplarah, about a month ago, to pay their half-yearly instalment, and sent sowars out into each village to collect it, Durikke Khan of Dreyplarah, and Lungur Khan of Byram Kheyl, passed the word round for a midnight rising; and at the hour appointed the drums of every village in the valley beat to arms; the sowars were made prisoners, stripped and robbed, and the Kardar, Trilok Chund, who was at a village called Shahbas Kheyl, on his way back from a journey to Dera Ismael Khan, was obliged to cut his way through the

village and leave four *zumboorahs* behind him. He succeeded in making good his retreat to a neighbouring fort named Koondee. The two zillahs, who had risen, were soon joined by the other two, and then they called in their neighbours. The Kardar states their numbers to have been 12,000, but I believe there were never more than 4,000 Murwutees, 1,500 Vizeerees and 300 Khuttuks, total 5,800 men. The little garrison of Lukkee, however, only mustered 250, and for 17 days they were beset on every side. The Killadar, Nizam Khan, wrote off to Dera Ismael Khan for reinforcements, and Sardar Mohummud Sudeek, with 200 sowars, was sent off to Lukkee, but when he reached Esau Kheyl, and heard what force the rebels had, he was afraid to advance; and at last Dewan Dowlut Raie himself, with four guns and a strong body of Cavalry, was obliged to march to the scene of action. The insurgents' army left the fort when they heard of the Dewan's approach and boldly advanced to meet him, but losing courage on the road broke up and fled. The conduct of the insurgents was most outrageous during these proceedings: they burnt the city to the ground; plundered the shops and houses of the Hindoos, who constitute the chief part of the population of Lukkee; threw up entrenchments round the fort, drove mines under the walls, attacked and tried to scale the bastions; and were only defeated in their attempts to take the place by the fidelity and gallantry of the little garrison. By the Lahore *Ukhbars* I perceive that the Durbar gave a handsome present to the news-writer who *communicated* this good news; and I cannot refrain from expressing a hope that the actors of the deeds themselves may receive some mark of the Maharajah's favor. A son of General Sooltan Mahmood, who brought up four guns from Dera in three days, also deserves commendation.

Visits.

Mullick Jaffir Khan of Bunnoo, and another Mullick named Khyddu Khan, who shares a Tuppah with Jaffir Khan, came into camp this morning, and, after presenting themselves to Sirdar Shumshere Sing, paid me a visit. I applauded their wisdom, and gave them every encouragement. Jaffir Khan was the head of one of the two great *goondees* in Bunnoo, but he has lately quarrelled with his cousin Alladad Khan, one of his chief supporters, who has now gone over to

Sher Must Khan, head of the rival faction. This decrease of power and influence may have something to do with his early arrival in camp, of which, however, he makes great merit ; and did not scruple to propose at once that he should be set up as lord of Bunnoo and all his brother Mullicks be made subject to him. If he had not the talent or authority to keep together a faction when public opinion was divided, I wonder how he proposes holding his own against all the Chiefs united. I promised, however, to remember his early submission when the revenue is being settled.

7th March 1847.—Dewan Dowlut Raie and the Tak Jageerdars called. The Dewan is a sneaking looking fellow without a word to say for himself. Hyatoollah Khan, one of the Tak Khans, answered all questions for the Dewan, and is, I understand, his right hand in all the business of the district. He is a fine manly fellow with a true Baloch countenance. At night Mullick Jaffir Khan crept to my tent again and stayed talking about two hours. A *Motbir* who talked Persian came with him and interpreted the Mullick's Pushtoo. By his account the poorer zumindars of Bunnoo are still afraid and are prepared for flight at a moment's warning though lingering in their homes : no wonder after the treatment they have received.

8th March—Right bank of the Indus.—Sher Alee Khan, and Shah Niwaz Khan of Khutty Kheyl, my two Bunnoo deputies, returned this morning in triumph with seven more Bunnoo Chiefs, *viz.*, Sher Must Khan, Mooseh Khan, Lal Baz Khan, Bazeed Khan, Zuburdust Khan, Alladad Khan, and Nukkum Khan. They were accompanied in their visit to me by a fat, pursy little Kazee, named Mohummud Kassim, who talks Persian, is the mouthpiece of Sher Must's *goondee*, high priest and in fact *factotum*. Meer Alum Khan also called on me this morning ; he came in to Dowlut Raie some days ago, or rather Dowlut Raie stopped him on his road to meet us, and detained him till he came himself.

8th March.—At night Meer Alum Khan paid me a second visit, with two *Motbirs*, one as usual who talks Persian. His chief object apparently was to find out our intentions respecting the settlement of Bunnoo ; and at last he said he might be relied on to do any service that was required—for *instance to build a fort*. I tried in vain to convince him that we had no design to erect strongholds ; and only wished tha the

Mullicks would pay their revenue regularly, so that the Sikh army might never see Bunnoo any more. From their incredulous shakes of the head, and the few words I could catch of their Pushtoo conversation among themselves, they seemed to believe a fort would be erected and a strong garrison left in Bunnoo for the future.

One *Motbir* repeatedly laughed as if he was very penetrating, and said to Meer Alum Khan "*Killah Mutbool, Killah Mutbool!*" "A fort is the object." The hint is not to be despised. A weak point is often betrayed by its defence, and these men may feel that the only thing that could effectually control them would be such a fort. I was much amused by the *savage* childishness displayed by these three men in examining my wax candle and listening to the tick of my watch, followed by a look of awe at me as if I were a magician.

9th March 1847—Durrah-i-Tung.—Sent for Shah Niwaz Khan of Esau Kheyl, and his brother, and gave them a good rowing. I told all the Bunnoo Mullicks to pitch their tents near that of Shumshere Sing; and this morning I found them all encamped with me. On enquiring the cause it appeared that Shah Niwaz Khan had insisted on their pitching near *him*; Sher Ali Khan had invited them to *join him*; and so on. In the event they thought least offence would be given by taking refuge with "the Furungee."

The son of Mullick Allahyar Khan of Kalabagh called to present his father's compliments. He has brought down the horses for the Sirkar and his father is "engaged in collecting the *nuzzuranah*." Kalabagh is held in *moshuksah*, at a yearly revenue of 5,500 rupees, 8 horses, 33 camels, and 20 hunting dogs. Mullick Jaffir Khan called to get *tusulleenamahs* for two fugitive friends of his, which I gave him. Kazee Mohummud Kassim called afterwards on a similar errand; and at his request I sent fresh encouragement to Dillassah Khan and Meer Baz Khan. The Kazee seems a reasonable old man, and I urged him warmly to do all in his power to draw the Chiefs together, to reconcile their private differences, and get them to unite in a common settlement for their country. He promised with much earnestness to do so and showed me very proper letters he had already written to the two Chiefs above named. At night I had a tentful of the Mullicks, who have a fancy for these nocturnal interviews. They cannot fancy any

man in his senses would express his real sentiments in public and in open day, so came at this time to be assured of my intentions. The Kazee being a holy character sat beside me on a chair, his little legs not reaching to the ground, but his countenance expressing a high sense of the honour conferred on him. The Mullicks (at once his clients and his patrons) crouched round us on the floor in a ring, their wild retainers forming a second circle beyond them. A single candle just served to show the darkness of their features; it was as mysterious as they could wish and a long talk of two hours was the result. The Kazee was interpreter, and the Mullicks talked Pushtoo. The deliberate way in which each delivered his opinion, the expressive gestures with which they enforced it, and the courteous silence observed by all the rest while one was speaking was a model for any deliberative assembly. Great simplicity and openness seems part of their character; and they frankly confessed that their national misfortunes were all to be attributed to their moral faults—jealousy, implacable resentment and falsehood. One great alarm they have at present is lest those who have come in should be made to pay for the absent, as has been the Sikh practice. I set their fears at rest by declaring that no man was answerable for his neighbour, and they went away very happy.

10th March 1847.—General Cortlandt called to tell me the magazine carts had not yet come up. Agreed to halt at Lukkee, as I want to enquire about the siege lately laid to the fort there.

Futteh Khan, Khyssore, Kardar of Esau Kheyl, called to make a lame apology for a messenger of mine having been refused a passage across the river at Muheye, his road to Bunnoo, which obliged him to go all round by Kalabagh. Sirdar Shumshere Sing, Dewan Hookum Chund, etc., etc., paid me a visit in the evening The Sirdar is anxious to settle with the Bunnoo people, so that the amount of revenue may be made public without delay. There would be some advantages gained by such a course; but I think, as the great object of our mission is to fix what is fair for both the ryots and the Sirkar, this cannot be done without local enquiry. General assurances of justice and kindness must suffice for the present; and then we shall leave Bunnoo behind us with the satisfaction of knowing that whether the Chiefs pay their revenue next year or not, they cannot complain that we did not enquire before we fixed it.

11th March 1847.—Nizam Khan, Killadar of Lukkee, called and gave me an account of the late disturbances embodied in the other column of this Diary, which see. Nizam Khan is a man of good family (Suddozye) and related to Nawab Shere Mohummud Khan of Dera Ismail Khan. He has not been here long; was left with a very small and inefficient force and opposed by superior numbers seems, from all I can learn, to have acquitted himself manfully.

Almost all the Bunnoo Chiefs called on me to-day, and indeed they seem never tired of overhauling my property; picking bits out of my carpet, and listening to the song "of my watch," which they declare to be a bird; amongst them they have broken the glass.

They bring me constant letters from their friends, all asking for information whether it is safe for them to stay in their homes or proper to fly. By this time every other man in Bunnoo must have extracted a *tusulleenamah*. This is unavoidable. The population may almost be described as a society without social bonds. Every man seems to be his own master, and to enjoy nearly perfect independence; so that to win over a Chief is not to secure all the men of his *goondee*. Sirdar Shumshere Sing, Dewan Dowlut Raie, Hyatoollah Khan and the rest of the Sirdars in camp paid me a visit this evening.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 10.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 14th to the 17th March 1847.

14th March 1847.—In the evening I called on Sirdar Shumshere Sing at his own tent, and had a private interview with him, for the sake of talking over the measures now to be adopted for realizing the Bunnoo revenue. After daily conversations on this subject with the Chiefs themselves I am convinced that the sum fixed by Colonel Lawrence for the permanent revenue of Bunnoo, *viz.*, 40,000 rupees, is not only fair, but easy, for they acknowledge that they would be well pleased if the sum they used to pay the Kings of Khorassan be again imposed on them. That sum was as follows: annual revenue paid to the Crown 24,000 rupees and *nuzzur* to the Sirdar who came to collect it, 6,000 rupees

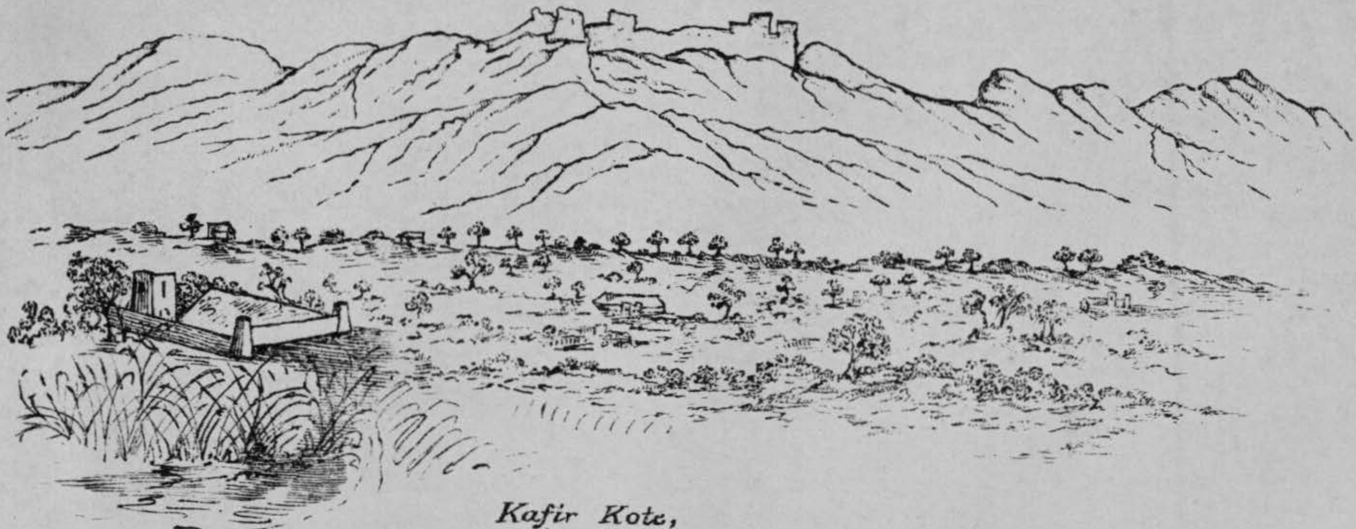
total 30,000 rupees. It was neither the policy nor was it ever in the power of the Cabul Kings to exact oppressive tributes from the tribes who made up their heterogeneous kingdom ; and the fact of the Mullicks, when asked what revenue they could pay with ease, naming as their utmost wish the sum they paid to their ancient rulers is, I think, sufficient proof that it is far under the mark. 40,000 rupees a year, therefore, will probably be found a very moderate assessment ; such as will give popular satisfaction. But if for the future it appears just to reduce the revenue of Bunnoo 25,000 rupees a year, a corresponding reduction, by the same rule of justice, should be made in the arrears. Those arrears are for two years and a half ; or Rs. 1,45,000 after all deductions, and by the above principle 62,500 rupees ought to be struck off them now, leaving rupees 82,500 to be realized. Colonel Lawrence's memorandum only shows a reduction altogether of 25,000 rupees, making the amount of arrears to be realized by this force 1,20,000 rupees. It is most likely, however, that many small proprietors will have fled to the hills ; and it will not be fair to impose their share upon those who remain. Much of the revenue will be paid as usual in kind ; and by over-estimates and subsequent sales considerable loss to the Government will accrue. If therefore the total of 1,20,000 rupees is imposed on Bunnoo, not more than a lakh of rupees will, in all probability, be paid by the valley, which will be as well. I have begged the Sirdar to think the matter well over to-night and call upon me to-morrow with Dewan Hookum Chund, when we will settle what sum is to be demanded from the Mullicks and acquaint them at once. At this interview with the Sirdar I suggested the following distribution of our Cavalry force so long as we are in Bunnoo.

At Durrah-i-tung.	*At Lukkee.*	*At Cashmere Kot.*	*With the Infantry and guns in Bunnoo.*
500 Ghorchurras.	In the fort :— Permanent garrison—200 foot and 200 horse ; 1 gun and 4 *zumboorahs.* Detached from our force—600 Ghorchurras. With Dewan Dowlut Raie 150 sowars.	400 Churanjeet sowars. 100 of Dewan Dowlut Raie's Afghan sowars. 10 *zumboorahs.*	250 Churanjeet sowars. 400 Ghorchurras.

The distance between Bunnoo and Lukkee being 2¼ miles and the country almost in rebellion, it was necessary to establish an interme-

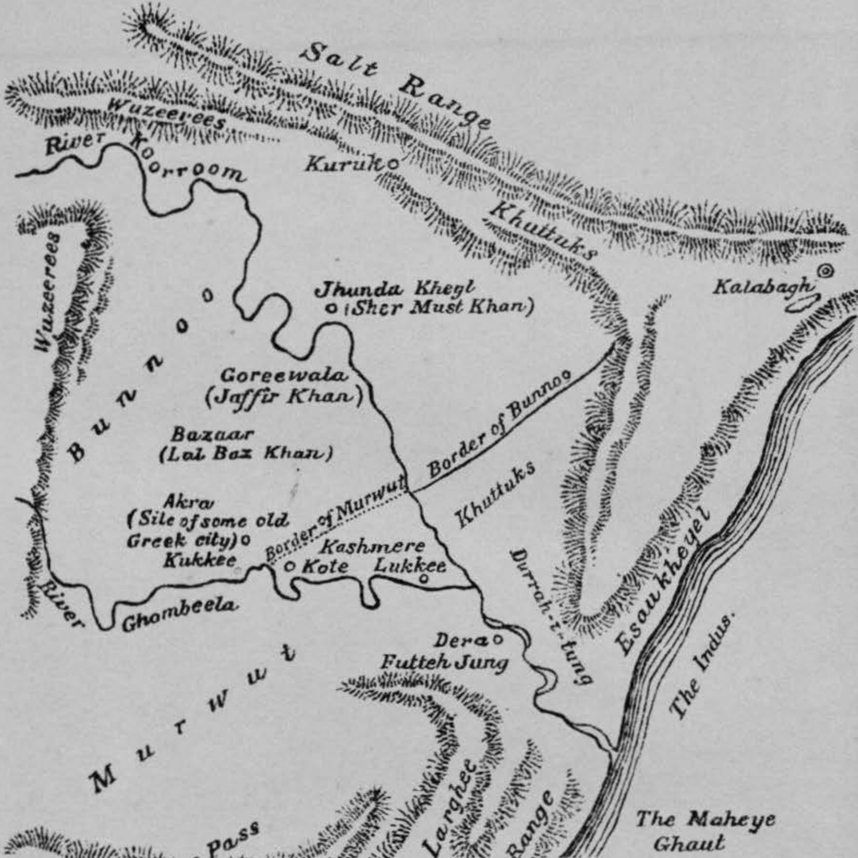
diate station at Cashmere Kot to keep the road open, and secure our supplies, and now that we have seen how far it is from Durrah-i-tung to Bunnoo, it would be imprudent to keep all our Ghorchurras at the former place, which is quite out of the reach of a forced march. 600 Ghorchurras therefore will come up to Lukkee. Another reason for this move is that much of the Murwut revenue is still unpaid; one zillah never pays at all; and this being the case it is better for the Sirkar, and for those who *do* pay their revenue, that the Cavalry should be quartered on those who do *not*, the price of the forage cut in the rebellious districts being regularly paid by the Commanding Officer of the Ghorchurras to Dewan Dowlut Raie; and by him carried to the account of revenue realized. (Annexed is a rough extract from Macartney's map of these parts, slightly altered from my own observation, and enlarged for the sake of showing at a glance the general bearings of our position, and making this Diary intelligible.)

15th March 1847.—Marched to Kukkee, 8½ miles. We are now in Bunnoo. What a lovely scene! The whole plain one sheet of standing corn, green as an emerald. Here and there a village has been deserted; and an acre or two of the crop hastily carried off by the fugitives; but the gap is scarcely perceptible in the surrounding plenty. The face of the valley is dotted thickly over with small mud *gurhees* or fortified villages of which there are upwards of 400 in Bunnoo; often not a musket-shot apart. Bold hills close in the horizon, on the top of one of which stands out against the sky the profile of a gigantic fortress called "Hooree Muhl," the fairy's place, or "Kafir Kote," the infidel's dwelling. This must be the one spoken of by Masson. It is uncertain, I believe, whether the hand of man or of nature shaped it, but "Kafir Kote" would indicate a Greek origin; and in front of this camp, about two miles distant, stands a high and curious mound called by the natives Akra, and said to be the site of an ancient Greek city. Gold, silver and copper coins are, I hear, found there after heavy rain; and General Ventura wished to open the mound, but could not persuade the Sikh soldiers, who disliked him, to undertake the work. Rode out a mile or two to reconnoitre, and got hold of the villagers of two *gurhees* and gave them comfort, of which they seemed much in need. Their fears once dissipated, they were rather difficult to get rid of, the news soon getting abroad, and fresh battalions coming running through the corn



Kafir Kote,
or the Infidel's Dwelling,
as it appears from the village of Bhurut
in Bunnoo.
(*Vide page* 46)

(*Signed*) *Herbert B. Edwardes*
28th March 1847.



BUNNOO
(Vide page 46)
Murwut
TAK &c
Their relative positions.

(Signed) Herbert B. Edwardes,
Asstt. Resident.

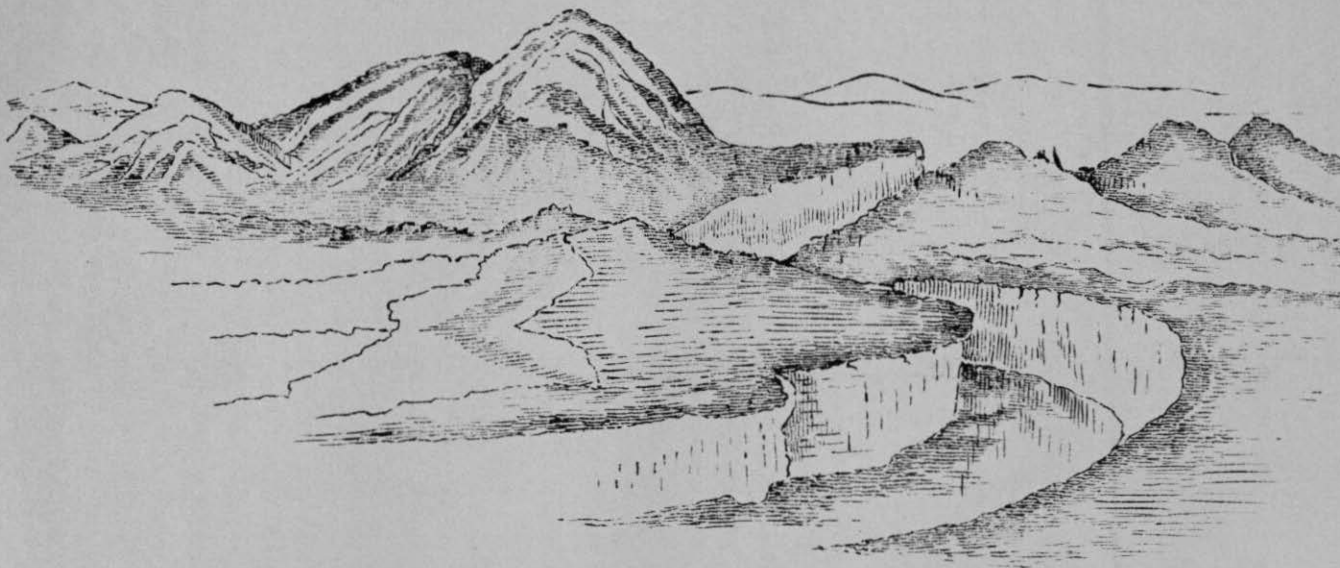
10 miles

Site of the old Greek City Akra

(Qu: Akpos)

in Bunnoo

(Vide pages 46 & 60)



(Sd.) Herbert B. Edwardes.

29th March 1847.

laughing and joking to see "the Sahib," one with a noisy he-goat as a peace offering, another with a struggling fowl under his arm, and an old Syud with an apron full of new laid eggs.

It is generally believed in Bunnoo that I eat nothing but eggs and devour about a hundred daily, which originated in my telling a Bunnoo *kossid* who brought me a *nuzzur* of money and fowls, that "I would rather he brought one egg than a Gold *Mohur!*" Hence every man who calls on me now comes laden with eggs. Several small zumindars to whom I had sent *tusulleenamahs* came in to-day, but I am afraid two-thirds of the small farmers are still standing aloof. They are not far off, however, the hills being only three or four *koss* distant; and I trust they will come back to their homes when a day or two has shown our good intentions. Dillassah Khan writes me word that he will positively come in to-morrow.

Sirdar Shumshere Sing and Dewan Hookum Chund called on me by appointment in the evening to settle the amount of revenue to be demanded, and after some discussion it was decided to strike off only 10,000 rupees of the arrears at first and afterwards fix the total at 1,30,000 rupees. When this is apportioned by the Chiefs among themselves, I calculate that at least one-fourth of the proprietary will remain away as long as we are here, so that if we realize a lakh we shall do well. Our camp all this day was crowded with Bunnoochees, wandering about the bazar and gaping at the soldiers, a contrast I am told to former expeditions, when no native could be induced to trust himself with the Sikhs.

16th March 1847—Camp Kukkee.—This morning in the opinion of the Sikh soldiery the object of this expedition was secured. Mullick Dillassah Khan came in and submitted himself to me. His name is terrible to "the Khalsa," and his hatred to everyone of the race is violent. He is an old man, about 70 years of age, but his determined features, knit brow, and angry eye, show that he has lost little of the fire of youth. Plain of speech and independent in manner, he made no secret of his feelings. "I have come," he said, "to submit myself to you, because you are a *Sahib* and your promise of honorable treatment is as good as an oath. Had the Sikhs sent a lakh of men they should not have got me, and I tell you the truth, that neither I nor they would be sitting here in peace if they had not brought a *Sahib* with them!" He came in rather proudly with fifty or sixty mounted followers, but I

was not sorry to see him well attended; for the news of his arrival ran through the camp like wildfire, and my tent was besieged by old grey-bearded Sikh soldiers striving to get a sight of their ancient enemy through the *chicks*, like boys looking at a caged tiger. Subsequently I persuaded Dillassah Khan to swallow his resentment and make his bow to Sirdar Shumshere Sing. The event seems to be considered of importance by the other Mullicks in camp, and decisive of peace. An untoward circumstance, however, occurred in the course of the morning which very nearly put the whole of them to flight. I thought it more conducive to the honor of Sirdar Shumshere Sing and the Maharajah that I should not attend the meeting at which he proposed to inform the Bunoochees what sum of revenue they were to pay. In private I had given him my advice, and he had promised to abide by it. After a long interval Kazee Mahomed Kassim, a leading man, and interpreter among the Chiefs, came much excited to my tent, and informed me "that if I did not interfere the Mullicks would all run away as the Sirdar had imposed a lakh and sixty-five thousand rupees on them, and they were all in a great rage!" Assuring the Kazee that it was all a mistake, I went over to the Sirdar myself and remonstrated. He declared that he had mentioned no other sum than the one agreed upon between us, *viz.*, 1,35,000 rupees. Dewan Hŏokum Chund suggested that as it had been explained to them that they owed 1,65,000 rupees to the Sirkar, this had probably been misunderstood. To settle the matter, I begged the Sirdar to recall all the Chiefs and arrange the revenue in my presence. He did so; and after a long sitting which lasted till night, the sum of 1,30,000 rupees was fixed as the arrears now to be paid and 40,000 rupees yearly for the future. With the latter sum all expressed lively satisfaction; with the former, it was not to be expected that they should be pleased. They have withheld their revenue as long as they could, and when they pay it, it will be because they cannot help it. The sum they themselves named as fair was 80,000 rupees arrears and 30,000 rupees yearly.

17th March 1847—Camp Kukkee.—The whole of this morning has been devoted to a renewal of yesterday's discussion, or rather to arranging the details of the settlement then made. The necessity of sending this off by daylight prevents me from translating the two agreements which I now append; but the substance of them is that the Chiefs agree to pay at the rate of 1,30,000 rupees for the arrears (the shares of those who are

in rebellion being deducted) and 40,000 rupees yearly in future, giving security for the same. The place where they wish to pay in their revenue yearly is to be fixed after consultation; also where they will give security.

The Mullicks, finding that no further deduction is to be gained by appearing discontent, have cheered up, and are very well satisfied. Indeed, I think they have been very kindly dealt with, and have nothing to complain of I hope that the details of the agreements will be approved of, differing as they do in some respects from my instructions.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 11.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 18th to the 20th March 1847.

18th March 1847—Camp Kukkee in Bunnoo.—Mullick Swahn Khan, chief man among the neighbouring tribe of the Vizeerees, came into camp by invitation to see me. He is a powerful Chief, commanding the services of between 15,000 and 20,000 (by his own account probably 12,000) of the most hardy and independent mountaineers in this part of Afghanistan. His country boasts that it has never paid tribute to any sovereign, but exacted it in the shape of plunder from all tribes alike. Swahn Khan is just what one might picture the leader of such a people: an enormous man, with a head like a lion, and a hand like a polar bear. He had on thick boots laced with thongs and rings, and trod my carpets like a lord. The Hindostanee servants were struck dumb, and expected the earth to open and swallow up the audacious Mullick. With his dirty cotton clothes, half redeemed by a pink *loongee* over his broad breast, and a rich dark shawl intertwined into locks that had never known a comb, a more splendid specimen of human nature in the rough I never saw. He made no bow, but with a simple "*Salaam Aleikoom*" took his seat. The first thing he did, to my great amusement, was to produce a small slip of paper signed "William Moorcroft, Dummaee Thul, April 6th, 1824," acknowledging the Mullick's hospitality and civility to that enterprising but unfortunate man. Swahn Khan was very anxious to know what he had written, and when I told him, he said "I did not make very much of him after

all. Who ever expected the day would come when you *Sahiblogs* would be coming with armies to my country?" He was evidently rather apprehensive that I had designs against his tribe; and informed me several times that his country never paid tribute to any one. He spoke highly of Moorcroft's intelligence; said "he asked questions about everything and wrote down everything; the trees, the crops, the stones, the men and women, their clothes, household furniture, etc.; and he cured the sick sheep and horses!" This seemed to be the climax of ability in the Vizeeree's estimation! After a long chat I sent him away; gave him a *zeeafut* of 101 rupees: a rupee each to his 12 followers, and ordered 5 rupees a day for himself, and a seer of *atta* and a proportion of *ghee*, for each of his men, during their stay in my camp. The fact is he is a very strong card in the hand of any one settling Bunnoo; as in case of anything occurring in the course of negotiations to excite hostilities, the Vizeerees are the first to whom the Bunnoochees fly for assistance. I also hope to bring about some sort of settlement between the Bunnoochees and the Vizeerees, to put a stop to their mutual aggressions when they do not happen to be in alliance for some evil or other. Meer Alum Khan and Jaffir Khan are evidently in the sulks at the settlement that has been made. Their plea is so far reasonable as to justify showing them some favor after the revenue shall have been collected, but not now. They say "We have been deserted by our ryots and got a bad name among the other Chiefs, because we served the Sikhs and were the instruments of their tyrannical exactions. As a reward for our *khidmut* you now refuse to uphold us!" In reply I urge, "that if Rajah Soocheet Sing, or Nao Nihal Sing, or Gunput Raie or any other of the *Zalims*, whose dirty work you did, were now to come again, they would be bound in gratitude to favor you; but I have come here on a different errand altogether; to do justice. I look to the future, not to the past; and I see that no settlement can stand which gives you authority over the ryots. I therefore pacify the country and throw you overboard." I have proposed to Sirdar Shumshere Sing to secure all the Mullicks in possession of one-tenth of the produce of all land cultivated by ryots whom they protect, but some other device must be hit upon to enlist their sympathies on our side at this moment in bringing in the fugitive rate-payers, or our "arrears" will make a poor show. It is certainly a difficult task to get a lakh of rupees out of an Afghan valley without bloodshed.

19th March 1847—Camp Kukkee.—Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, repeated his visit and wanted me to give him a Sunnud to the effect that I would never take revenue from the Vizeerees. I told him I heard that some of his countrymen had got hold of lands in Bunnoo ; and if so they must pay to the Maharajah the same as the Bunnoochees do. "Vizeerees never pay !" "Not till they are obliged ; but I will make you." "You are joking ?" "No, in earnest." "Well, but listen to justice ! What if we have bought the lands on this agreement, that we were to pay a round sum for the lands out and out, and the seller to pay the revenue for ever ?" "Is that the case ?" "Am I a liar ?" "No, you are a Vizeeree, and Vizeerees are like the *Sahiblog*—never tell lies. So I will tell you how it shall be. I will come and see the lands, and hear both sides of the question ; and then tell you what I think of it, and after that if you say it is 'justice' that you should pay, I will make you pay ; and if you say it is justice that you should *not* pay, I will give a you a Sunnud of exemption. But you are to be on your honor as a Vizeeree !" Swahn Khan hereupon stretched out his tremendous arm, grappled my hand, and shook it till he nearly dislocated my shoulder—"Agreed—agreed : that is *insaf !*" I afterwards got Swahn Khan to forward a letter of encouragement to Mullick Meer Baz Khan and Bubhur Khan, who have fled to the Vizeeree country and turned *ghazees,* so that none but a Vizeeree dares go near their hiding place.

Meer Alum Khan has been trying to pacify all his tenants by the Afghan custom of *Nunnawotea,* which consists in sending a relative, or going in person, to the door of the estranged friend or enemy, and asking forgiveness for the past on condition of good conduct in future. To-day he came to me with a complaint that he had in this way made friends with the people of Secunder Kheyl, but Sher Must Khan had again enticed them away. At his earnest request I sent for Sher Must's Kazee, who denies it. I then sent for the Secunder Kheyl people themselves ; and they stated that they would have nothing to do with Meer Alum Khan ; that they would not accept his *Nunnawotea ;* and that they had merely come in from the hills on the faith of my proclamation that the ryot might pay through whom he pleased. I then asked if they would return to Meer Alum on his solemn promise to be kind to them ? With the utmost vehemence and gesticulation they declared that if Meer Alum swore to them

on the *Koran* they would not believe him! This quite satisfies me of the propriety of that clause in the agreement.

20th March 1847—Camp Kukkee.—In the morning a long interview with Mahomed Khan, head of the Esau Kheyl family who is in exile in Bunnoo. His is another of those cases which deserve compassion. The Sikhs are certainly wanting in not merely common humanity, but political wisdom, in thus driving from their homes men of family, and raising up enemies, whom a small pension in their native land would satisfy. I have translated their papers in full, but do not submit them till I can send Dewan Dowlut Raie's answer along with them. As an abstract I will only now mention that Duleyl Khan had Esau Kheyl conferred on him under certain conditions by the Emperor Ahmud Shah; and that it descended on his family from father to son till the time of Dewan Lukhee Mul, when Ahmud Khan died without issue and was succeeded by his brother Mahomed Khan, the privileges of the family being cut down from one-fourth to an eighth at one fell swoop. New exactions, and the annoyances practised by Dowlut Raie, drove Mahomed Khan from Esau Kheyl; for a short time he was reinstated by Konwur Nao Nihal Sing, and again driven out by Dowlut Raie. He is now a pensioner on the country of Sher Must Khan in Bunnoo.

The Mullicks of Bunnoo have been engaged ever since the 17th in allotting their revenue among each other; but they make such a confused mess of their papers that Dewan Hookum Chund has been obliged to take them in hand, and has got them now so well into the way of it that by to-night the division will be completed.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 12.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 20th to the 24th March 1847.

20th March 1847—Camp Bunnoo.—The Mullicks of this country are very difficult to deal with on account of their stupidity. Half

the time is lost in repeated explanations and assurances that no attempt is being made to cheat them. An instance of this occurred this evening. Dewan Hookum Chund had been writing down the proprietors of a particular *tuppah*, at the dictation of Sher Must Khan, who has himself but one-fourth share in the same. At the conclusion the Dewan made him put his seal to the statement as a voucher for its correctness; and the Khan took it into his head that he had thereby been tricked into becoming responsible for the whole *tuppah*. Reflecting on this, like a true Afghan, he brooded over it till he got savage, and as no explanation could reach his understanding, I caused the Dewan to return the paper to him, which I understand he seized, tore up with his hands and teeth into little bits, and then ground to powder by rubbing them between the palms of his hands. He was then content, and made very merry with the circumstance. At present he is the last man in Bunnoo whom it would be prudent to leave long in ill humour.

21st March 1847—Camp Bunnoo.—To-day the allotment of revenue was completed and no time being to be lost, I collected the Chiefs, and begged the Sirdar to give them their *khilluts* and *rookhsut*, that they might go to their respective homes and collect the revenue. To adjust this matter, however, was not so easy; each yard of calico being so much dignity, and the Mullicks watching jealously to see the comparative estimate that was formed of themselves and neighbours. It was late at night before all the finery was served out; and then a most ridiculous scene ensued, every man as he left the tent feeling (as he thought unobserved) the texture of the shawl or *loongee* worn by the person going out in front of him, thus forming a long concatenation of vanity and petty jealousies.

To interest them in calling in fugitives and collecting the arrears, I promised them 10 per cent. upon all the money they bring in; and when the revenue is paid up a *Sunnud* from the *Sirkar* recognising their claim to one-tenth of the produce of the soil. Overleaf is an abstract of the *status in quo.*

Abstract of the Allotment of Arrears of Revenue, showing the proportion of proprietors absent and present.

Tuppahs.	What to pay.	Forthcoming.	Not forthcoming.
	Rs.	Rs. a.	Rs. a.
1 Tuppah of Isukkee held by Lal Baz Khan.	6,500	6,500 0	None.
1 Tuppah of Isukkee held by Mooseh Khan.	6,500	4,875 0 *N. B.*—From this is to be deducted a sum of Rs. 812-8 *Inam* granted for past service, leaving Rs. 4,072-8.	1,625 0
1 Tuppah of Isukkee under Sher Must Khan.	6,500	1,625 0 Ditto old grant of Rs. 406-4 for *Dustar* allowance, leaving Rs. 1,218-12.	4,875 0
1 Tuppah of Isukkee called Shumsh Kheyl.	6,500	812 8	5,687 8
2 Tuppahs held by Jaffir Khan and Alladad Khan.	13,000	10,400 0	2,600 0
6 Meeree Tuppahs ...	39,000	None	All
1 Tuppah Daood Shah ...	6,500	4,875 0	1,625 0 1 Tuppah.
1 Tuppah Mukkhis Kheyl	6,500	1,857 8	4,642 8
1 Tuppah Bazeed ...	6,500	2,543 12	3,956 4
1 Tuppah Zubardust Khan	6,500	2,642 4	3,857 12
1 Tuppah Alladeen ...	6,500	2,586 0	3,914 0
1 Tuppah Subat Khan ...	6,500	2,889 0	3,611 0
2 Tuppahs of Meer Alum Khan.	13,000	7,887 8	5,112 8
Total due ...	1,30,000	Forthcoming after all deductions. 38,276 12	Deficient at present. 80,506 8

This is anything but satisfactory or encouraging, but it must be kept in mind that this, or whatever sum may be realized, is given by the people of their own free will as the acknowledged due of the Sirkar. *It is also the full share of such a number of landowners as were found in Bunnoo by this force;* and therefore if no more even than this small sum be obtained of the arrears, the experiment of a peaceful collection of the revenue must still be considered successful, for the deficiency will be solely attributable to absentees, fugitives who dreaded a repetition of the cruelties and exactions they have before experienced. Our system has succeeded with all on whom we have had the opportunity of trying it.

I do not despair, however, yet of recalling many of the runaways; and I think it will be quite justifiable, in the case of those who obstinately refuse to be reassured and come in, to mortgage their lands

to anyone who will take up those lands with their responsibilities, the said lands to be released on return of the owners and discharge of the mortgage with interest. This I believe to be a common practice in the Punjab, and it seems to be perfectly equitable.

A curious circumstance occurred to-day to illustrate the manners of these people and their neighbours. Mullick Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, recognised in the possession of Subat Khan, one of the Bunnoo Chiefs, two camels which had been stolen from him some time ago; and *as my guest*, he now called upon me to do him justice. I sent for Subat Khan, who declared that he had bought the camels from a Khuttuk,—one for 28 rupees, the other for 25 rupees. I proposed to Swahn Khan under these circumstances that he should share the loss with Subat Khan, but he obstinately refused, and said: "The custom of my country is that if one man lays claim to property in the possession of another, and backs his claim with an oath, the other gives the property up. Half and half is not justice." I was displeased with Swahn Khan taking advantage of his stay in my camp to push his claims in this way; and myself paid 28 rupees (the price of the best camel) to Subat Khan, who behaved very well, and gave up both camels on the faith of the Vizeeree's oath. The Vizeeree then thanked me plainly for "having strictly administered *justice*," and walked off with the camels; but in the course of the day he watched his opportunity when I was alone, and came back laughing to "beg that I would not be angry at his not dividing the loss with Subat Khan. He did not care for the camels a pice; but it would be discreditable to a Vizeeree to let a Bunnoochee keep his property, seeing that they were hereditary enemies." He concluded by presenting both the camels to me as a *nuzzur;* and I had some difficulty in evading acceptance.

22nd March 1847—Camp Bunnoo.—Clouds hanging about and threatening rain; but only making more intense the heat of the last week. Sickness much on the increase among the troops—fever, dysentery, and irritation of the kidneys. The latter is the effect of the water of the Goombeelah, and has affected the whole camp. Jaffir Khan, before proceeding to his home to collect the revenue, called to show me a *purwannah* of the present Maharajah's, in Jowahir Sing's time, addressed to Futteh Khan, Towanah, and exempting Jaffir Khan from all revenue, etc., due on one-quarter of his *tuppah*. The silly fellow had this in his

possession when he came in first, on the banks of the Indus, and though he has been calling on me twice every day since, he never showed me this till now, when the revenue is all settled. If this one-fourth *tuppah* is now excused, it must either come out of the Sirkar's already reduced revenue or out of the pockets of the other Mullicks, which would be a breach of faith and is quite impossible. Yet it is right to respect such a grant, and I shall endeavour to arrange the matter in some way before I leave.

The first complaint that has been made against any of our people since the arrival of this force in Bunnoo reached me this morning. General Purtab Sing wanted some *sheeshum* wood to store for musket stocks, and got a *purwannah* from Sirdar Shumshere Sing on the Syuds of a neighbouring village, desiring them to let the General's men cut trees in their ground; but the Sirdar gave verbal instructions at the same time to the foraging party that they were not to cut any tree near a tomb, or place of assembly or even a village, and not to cut anywhere at all if the villagers objected. The foraging party went straight to the village, selected a couple of fine trees and commenced felling. The villagers turned out and remonstrated, but to no effect, and when one tree was down and the other begun upon, they came in a body to complain to me. I immediately sent out a Cavalry party to bring in the foragers of Purtab Sing's regiment; summoned Purtab Sing himself, General Cortlandt and Sirdar Shumshere Sing; and had a formal investigation of the whole circumstances. The blame finally rested with Purtab Sing, who had himself, from a distance, pointed out the two trees in question, and ridden off without much enquiry, leaving the sepoys to obey orders. He is a very heavy, stupid man, but not troublesome; and as he had himself not heard the Sirdar's verbal instructions and was already dreadfully frightened at the Drumhead Court-martial, to which he had been so suddenly brought, I merely told him to compensate the Syuds and send me their note of satisfaction, which he speedily did. Scarcely had this affair been settled, when another Syud from the same village came running in with marks of great violence on his arm and leg. He said he had forbidden an elephant driver to cut his corn and been assaulted most grossly in return. There are only four elephants in camp, and after some search the offender was produced and enquiry proved that he had strayed from the limits assigned that

day to the foraging party from the camp. I determined therefore to make an example of him. Accordingly a parade of the whole force was assembled, the Infantry forming three sides and the Cavalry the fourth of a hollow square facing inwards. In the centre of the square, before the whole of the camp, the mahout was flogged, and then led down the ranks from one end to the other. The native officers were afterwards assembled, told the reason of the punishment, and desired to acquaint the sepoys of their respective corps. The affair produced a very salutary sensation throughout the camp, particularly among the grass-cutters, who are a most unruly set and understand nothing but club law. The mahout was in the service of Sirdar Soorjun Sing, Mokul, and that Sirdar is much offended with Shumshere Sing for not screening his servant. I made a point therefore of informing him before all the native officers that the only difference I should make in punishing one of my own servants caught in a similar offence would be doubling the number of lashes.

23rd March 1847.—Camp Bunnoo.—Rode out this morning to the village where the tree was cut down yesterday, and had a long chat with the Syuds, who expressed themselves quite satisfied with the justice shown them. A *kossid* came creeping out of the village all over blood, and presented me two letters which he had brought from Sirdar Khwajah Mohummud Khan at Kohaut and another Khwajah Mohummud Khan, who is Chief of the Khuttuks, both informing me that they were ready with strong parties to escort me through the hills to Peshawur, if I liked to go. The poor *kossid* was attacked by two Bunnoochee robbers last night close to his journey's end, and received two or three severe grazes from a spear, the head of which luckily got entangled in his clothes and was pulled off. I have got the spear-head now on my table, and think I never saw a more villainous weapon, being two barbs set one on the top of the other at right angles, thus producing a wound of this shape 

Almost the whole of this day was occupied in interviews with Swahn Khan, his nephew Hikmut Khan and two other Vizeerees of consequence, named Kuttal Khan and Mittuh Khan. The Bunnoo Chiefs complain that they are the regular prey of the Vizeerees who, not content with driving down their flocks and herds to the Bunnoo country to graze, have taken forcible possession of whole tracts of land and

leave the Bunnoo people to pay the revenue. The Vizeerees, on the other hand, maintain that they are the injured party; that the lands they hold here and there in Bunnoo were fairly purchased, but the Bunnoochees are constantly stealing their flocks. My own belief is that the Vizeerees are the aggressors and that they require to be kept within bounds, if the good government and settlement of this possession of the Sikhs is to be attempted. But the Bunnoochees, though very strong in numbers, are too divided among themselves to cope with the Vizeerees who make common cause against them; and the only way of permanently securing the border would be to build a good, strong fort where the river Koorrum issues from the hills. This again could not be trusted to the Bunnooches, and must be garrisoned with royal troops; at least Rohillas paid by the Sirkar, and this would involve the assumption of the direct management of the Bunnoo country by whoever commanded in the fort, which it is the object of the settlement now made to avoid. So that such a policy, even if approved of, must necessarily be deferred to some future day when the interference of Sikh troops may again be required in Bunnoo. Meanwhile, the only thing to be done is to make some temporary arrangement between the chief men on both sides; and before I leave Bunnoo I have promised to visit the Sooraunee *tuppahs*, which are the contested ones, for that purpose. Certainly it cannot be permitted that Bunnoo lands should be cultivated by Vizeerees, and those Vizeerees refuse to pay their share of the common revenue.

This evening came in the first instalment of the arrears of Bunnoo revenue, and it is a good omen that the three villagers who brought it were ryots of Meer Alum Khan, and came thus early to testify their gratitude at being released from his exactions and allowed to pay in their proper share themselves. A letter just received from Meer Baz Khan, in reply to my letter of encouragement, states that he cannot come in as he has got no means of paying the revenue; and it is of no use his coming without. The Vizeerees have robbed him of everything in the world except the crops on the ground. He begs me not to think that anything but poverty has made him fly. This from the head of six *tuppahs* (for he is leader of the Meeree *goondee*) is scarcely credible, and I have written to inform him that if in ten days he does not present himself to Sirdar Shumshere Sing and pay in his revenue, his lands will be mortgaged to anyone who will take them up.

I cannot say how much I regret that these people fled before our arrival, as not a man has left since, all being satisfied with our dealings.

24th March 1847—Camp Bunnoo.—The increase of sickness among the soldiers makes it absolutely necessary to try change of air, and I rode out this morning about two *koss* to select a spot for our camp, and found a very good one in the heart of the Meeree *tuppahs* from which as I mentioned in yesterday's Diary) all the tenants have fled to the hills, leaving us the last resource of using up their crops. We move to-morrow. I never stir out of camp without being struck with admiration at the natural capabilities of this valley. It is difficult to move without trampling down wheat or barley; and round about each little field flows a free current of water which irrigates the cultivation throughout the whole season of growth, thus protracting the harvest, but increasing it a hundredfold.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

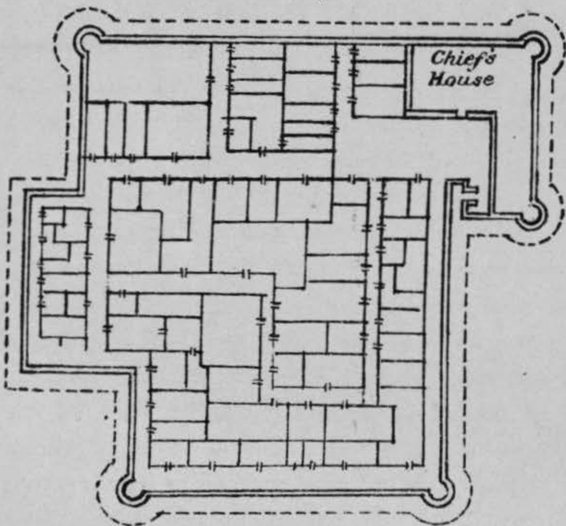
No. 13.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 25th to the 30th March 1847.

25th March 1847—Camp Kukkee in Bunnoo.—A heavy fall of rain prevented us from marching as intended. Intersected as this valley is with a network of irrigation, the least rain makes it almost a quagmire; and a *nullah* is to be crossed between this and the next camp. Lal Baz Khan and several other Mullicks came in with their first instalment of arrears of revenue, but I was too unwell to do any business.

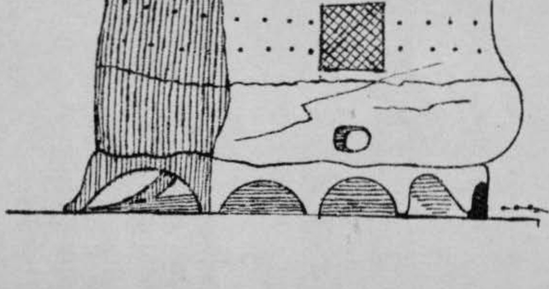
26th March—Camp Kukkee.—Rain again and marching impossible. Shumshere Sing and half the camp called to hope I was better and made me worse. Fever, etc., etc. The Mullicks are giving a great deal of trouble about the valuation of the camels, horses, cows, etc., etc., which they bring in part payment of revenue. I have told them to appoint an umpire and the Sirdar to appoint another. A long *urzee* from several Mullicks of Murwut, who were recalled by me from the hills where they had fled, but say they can come to no terms with Dewan Dowlut Raie. Wrote to the Dewan and told him that if he would bring the chief zumindars of the several zillas of Murwut along with him to this camp, I would assist him in making a settlement.

27th March 1847.—The morning being fine we marched to Bhurut, three miles higher up the left bank of the Goombeelah, and in the bend of a smaller stream called Lohrah which flows into it and under the high citadel of the old Greek city, Akra. (Probably Akra is merely a corrupt tradition of Acropolis, or Akros, for the eminence is conspicuous for miles, and standing alone in the middle of the plain would very naturally be distinguished by settlers as "The Hill.") This little stream is very shallow now, but here and there it has deep pools which hold mahseer, and the height of its banks, the width between them and the ravines on either side show that it is at times a very formidable river. The old Sikh soldiers in this camp remember it well, and point out the ford where, when Nao Nihal Sing was here, 40 sepoys and 150 camels were crossing when a sudden rise took place and washed them all away. Bhurut, which is on the bank opposite our camp, is a large walled village or town, built of the old burnt bricks of Akra, clumsily put together with mud. It is now deserted, the inhabitants having fled to the hills before our arrival in Bunnoo and carried away with them the very beams and woodwork of their houses. The construction of these walled villages is well worthy of notice as an epitome of the state of society in Bunnoo. (The sketch annexed will assist in explanation.) They have no regular shape or design in general but were probably all originally square, and added on new enclosures as the population grew or the Chief gathered friends. The only thing uniform about them is that whatever the shape of the village may be, a high mud wall surrounds the whole; sometimes but not often a ditch runs round the wall. This wall is apparently of the most flimsy kind, but such is the adhesive yet spongy nature of the soil of which it is made that Artillery has been found to have little or no effect in producing a breach. A very few shells however thrown into one of those enclosures must force the inhabitants to throw open their gates, for the whole area inside is a mass of closely packed hovels thatched with straw. Scarcely room is left between the houses for a narrow lane or two. In walking over the abandoned dwellings of these people, I see hardly one in which there are not the remains more or less perfect of a domestic granary (see sketch annexed). This also is made of mud; a large mud box in fact standing on mud legs to keep it from the mice and insects. Towards the top are rows of air holes; the hole in which the grain was put in is in the centre and

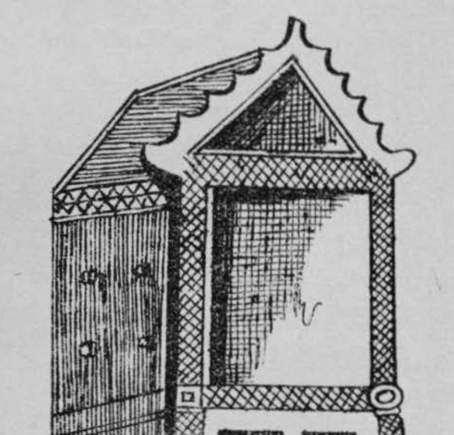
Sketch of a walled village
in Bunnoo.
(Vide page 60)



Sketch of a granary.



Sketch of a Fireplace.
(Vide page 61.)



closed up; a small aperture being made near the bottom out of which when the stopper is withdrawn as much grain as is required may be allowed to run. Mud fireplaces are also found in almost every house; not fixed against the wall, but a separate piece of furniture, on whose fashioning the skill of the village artists seems to have been expended. The sketch annexed shows one. The antiquity of the bricks of which the town of Bhurut is built (though they are evidently stolen from the ruins of the city of Akra hard by), together with the great number of old coins which are washed by every shower out of the ground, has given rise to a legend among the natives that Bhurut of the Hindoo mythology (son of Rajah Jusrut and brother of Ram), was the original founder of the place. The coins they say are "Seeta Ram ke pyse." Doubtless the Greek inscriptions on them are to a Hindoo strongly confirmatory of this belief, for the brother of Ram would not condescend to talk any common language. By a strangely perverse coincidence our last camp was called Kukkee, the name of the mother of Bhurut. Upwards of 300 copper coins have already been picked up in the camp, or brought in by the villagers. They are all much defaced, and as yet I have not seen one on which the name is decypherable; but the contour of the Grecian head and profile, the spirited outlines of the figures of men and horses, and the high relief of the designs, all belong to the countrymen of Alexander and a period when art was in perfection

Mullick Swahn Khan, Vizeer, this morning presented me with an *urzee*, offering to call in the Vizeeree Chiefs, if I would not hold them answerable for arrears of revenue due on lands held by them in Bunnoo; also submitting their right to those lands to my decision. I agreed to his request and gave him letters to send to the other Mullicks. For full particulars see public letter No. 5, to Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, dated 28th March 1847.

28th March 1847—Camp Bhurut.—The change of camp and weather has produced a good effect on the health of the men. The native doctors (of whom there are two with us) report a great decrease in the sickness and applications for medicine. It is impossible not to contrast the condition of the Sikh soldier at a time like this with that of a Company's sepoy; the latter attended to night and day by a

European Surgeon and his assistants, with every medicine in the pharmacopœa at his disposal, the former left to struggle with disease as he may, or the scarce less fatal remedies of some ignorant *tubeeb*. (The two native doctors now with us are new appointments, made, I believe, by Rajah Lal Sing; and the two regiments of General Cortlandt are the only ones in the Sikh army so supplied.) When this force was leaving Lahore, General Cortlandt applied for a stock of medicines to take with it; and the Durbar granted him 100 rupees! Luckily I had a medicine chest, and was able to add to the common stock. I think we have only lost three men.

Yesterday and to-day I have been engaged in issuing and explaining to the Chiefs a proclamation addressed to the fugitive land-owners of Bunnoo. We have now been 12 days in Bunnoo, and fully half that time was occupied in sending letters of encouragement to the absent zumindars. No man can say he is afraid to come in; for not an act of violence has been committed, and the utmost friendliness exists between the natives and the troops. It is clear therefore that there is some collusion between the Chiefs who are in camp and the zumindars who are in the hills. The Sikhs used to make those present pay for the absent. Now no man is held responsible for more than his own share of the revenue. Probably therefore the design is to prevent us from realising the shares of the runaways by not letting them come in. But those absent shares amount to upwards of 80,000 rupees, nearly two-thirds of the arrears we are come here to collect. To meet this difficulty the above-mentioned proclamation is now published; and its terms are these: that if the absent land-owners of Bunnoo do not come in and make arrangements for paying their shares within a week, their lands will be seized by the Sirkar and mortgaged; the mortgagee to be entitled to 25 rupees per cent. should the owner release them within one year, and 50 rupees, per cent. any time afterwards. The effect of this proclamation would have been evaded altogether if to the above another clause had not been added: "that it would be open to anybody to take up the lands thus offered for mortgage, whether he was a Bunnoochee or a *Vizeeree*, or a *Khuttuk*." One Bunnoochee would not have taken up another Bunnoochee's estate, unless the market had been thrown open to their enemies. Thus I calculate that both the absent and present will see that there is no escape from paying the just

demand of the Sirkar ; and I hope that it will be unnecessary to mortgage the majority at least of the estates whose owners are now away. The Chiefs, though completely surprised by this checkmate, are constrained to own that it is quite fair, and only made a faint struggle for some deduction of the demand against the absent. To have granted this would have been giving a premium on running away and punishing those who have come quietly in, so I put the deduction in another shape, and promised the Chiefs who are present 15 per cent. on all they bring in of the 80,000 rupees now not forthcoming. This sum (supposing them to earn it all) added to the other sum of 10 per cent. previously promised on all that they collect of the shares that are forthcoming will amount to 17,500 rupees, which deducted from the total 1,30,000 rupees will leave nett 1,12,500 rupees.

29th March 1847—Camp Bhurut.—The Chiefs are not satisfied with Sirdar Shumshere Sing's umpire for the valuation of cattle, and even think their own has been tampered with. Two or three hundred Bunnoochees get round the umpires every time a camel or a horse is brought up, and clamorously proclaim what they consider a fair price. The whole of yesterday was, I hear, lost in this way. This morning I sent for Sher Must Khan, one or two other Chiefs, and the Kazee, and made them sit down in my tent. I then desired them to send for the camels that they wished to give in part payment of revenue, and spread a carpet under a tree outside for the two umpires to sit upon alone. Nobody was allowed to go near them except the camel driver or syce who drove up the camels or horses, and the owner of each beast was enjoined to hold his tongue. When the umpires had settled the value they called it out aloud; and I asked the Mullick if he agreed to give in his beast at that rate or not ? "Yes or no ; not another word." If he said "Yes," the Sirdar's people drove it off and gave a receipt ; if he said "No," the Chief sent it away home again. Ultimately I gave up my hill tent to the umpires, and they remained there all day estimating cattle in this way. The Chiefs are perfectly content, and rather think it a good joke that they must not say a word when their own cattle is being appraised !

When the camp foraging party went out this morning they found the ground already occupied by about 250 Murwutees, all cutting the corn as hard as they could and lading it on bullocks and donkeys.

The rascals were surrounded and brought in to me. Five or six-and-twenty of them boldly stood forth as land renters in Bunnoo, and said the rest were their labourers come to collect the harvest. I took down each man's name and the place where he said he rented ground, the Mullick under whom he rented it, etc., and then distributed them among the regiments to be imprisoned, till reference can be made to the Mullicks they have named. I have no doubt they are mere plunderers come from Murwut to cut the grain of those Bunnoochees who have run away.

Two *Motbirs* of Sirdar Khwajah Mohummud Khan from Teeree in Kohaut and a *Motbir* of his namesake the chief Mullick of the Khuttuks arrived in camp to escort me to Kohaut and Peshawur. When we first arrived in Bunnoo I thought I could have found time to make this trip; and it would be useful to explore the road to see if it is practicable for guns. For it seems a useless expense collecting a force at Lahore to travel all the way to Bunnoo whenever revenue is to be demanded; and should it ever be necessary to send troops here in future, it would be more economical, and more expeditious, to detach half of the large force stationed at Peshawur which would be joined at Kohaut by the 2,000 horsemen of Sooltan Mohummud, and from Dera Ismail Khan by as many more, and several guns. An Infantry corps is also now to be stationed at Lukkee in Murwut, and this will be available for service in Bunnoo. But the practicability of this concentration depends upon the road between Bunnoo and Peshawur. Rajah Soocheyt Sing is said to have brought troops and guns down it from Peshawur; and my enquiries from the natives lead me to believe that it is not difficult, but it would have been a great thing to have had ocular demonstration of the fact. I do not feel strong enough however to undertake any extra work at this present time, and shall send the *Motbirs* back again to-morrow. It is better also that the Chiefs should not be left alone with the Sikh Sirdars and officers, between whom and them there is little confidence.

30th March 1847—Camp Bhurut.—Heard of another party of Murwutees encamped in the grain of the runaway Bunnoochees. Sent out sowars and caught the chief of them. He is a son of a Murwut Mullick, and says he rents the land where he was found from Meer Baz

Khan, Chief of the Meerees (now in the hills). On enquiry I found this to be the case; but this only makes him a revenue defaulter instead of a common robber. As he can give no reason for not coming in and making arrangements for paying the revenue due on the land he holds, and can get nobody to go security for him, I have confined him. Last night three Sikh soldiers who had gone to Bazaar (the chief town of Bunnoo) to buy flour, etc., were returning home when four sowars and two footmen attacked them about three *koss* from camp. Two of the Sikhs fled and left the third to his fate, but he made so good a resistance as to get off with two sword cuts and a thrust from a spear. Sirdar Shumshere Sing has confined the two cowards who deserted their comrade, and an order has been issued forbidding any number less than a *pahrah* (six privates and a Havildar) from leaving camp. I have sent out Hyatoollah Khan of Tak, with some sowars, to trace the footprints of the men and horses, but do not expect he will succeed. Robbers in Bunnoo are too common to be taken much notice of in their comings and goings, and the hills are so near that they can always escape if pursuit is made. The chief part of this day was consumed in examining the 250 Murwutees and hearing evidence in their case. Finally it was established that they had neither land, nor harvest, in Bunnoo; so, as they were too numerous to confine, and had already been nearly two days without food, I was obliged to make shorter work of them than perhaps they deserved. Those who had bullocks and donkeys I let go, confiscating their beasts to the Sirkar, and entering it as so much revenue realised in the Meeree *tuppahs* (whose grain they have been plundering). The rest I drew out in a line, made over each man to a sepoy, and then administered a good thrashing to the whole by word of command. The whole camp turned out to see "the punishment parade," and the laughter of the lookers on was perhaps the most severe infliction. The great object is to get an example of this sort talked about. In the evening I received a visit from Dewan Dowlut Raie who has arrived from Lukkee with the Murwut zumindars.

I forgot to mention that when old Dillassah Khan got his *rookhsut* and went off to his castle again to collect his revenue, the report went abroad immediately that he had turned *yagee*, and was going to hold out against the Sikhs as of old. As soon as this had reached the old man's ears, he mounted his horse and road back again into camp, for

which loyal conduct I rewarded him with a two-anna box of lucifer matches, which appeared to him so inestimable a treasure that he wrapped it up in a sheet and sent it off by a horseman to his fort for greater safety. All future expeditions to Bunnoo should be fitted out like a ship going to trade with the Sandwich Isles.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 14.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 31st March to the 7th April 1847.

31st March 1847—Camp Bhurut in Bunnoo.—Clouds threatening rain and the air oppressive. This morning Meer Abbas Khan, Vizeeree of Nurmee Kheyl, Wuzeer Khan, Vizeeree of Surdee Kheyl, and a nephew of Jan Buhadoor, Vizeeree of Tukhtee Kheyl, arrived in camp in compliance with my letters of invitation dated 27th March. This is so far satisfactory as evincing a willingness to submit to arbitration; but I declined entering upon the case until all the Vizeerees concerned, or some more at least were present. Messengers were sent off accordingly to summon other Mullicks.

Hyatoollah Khan having, last evening, followed up the foot-prints of the four sowars and two footmen who attacked our three soldiers and traced them into the lands of Meer Alum Khan, I sent for that Chief this morning and told him he was answerable for their production. Sirdar Shumshere Sing is very angry with his *Motbir* for receiving from my Moonshee the price of the forage of my camp for the last month, and pretends that he will get into disgrace at Lahore if he takes any money from me. I urge the absolute necessity of the Sirdars and myself obeying to the letter the camp regulations if we expect others to do so. The *Motbir*, however, will not take the money, and I must send it to Dewan Hookum Chund, to be entered as revenue collected by the Sirkar in the lands of the Meerees, from whose account it will also be deducted. Money coming in slowly, so requested the Sirdar to issue *takeed purwannahs* on the several Mullicks, informing them that if they did not speedily send in their shares, sowars would be quartered on them

1st April 1847—Camp Bhurut.—Last night there was a lunar eclipse which brought out all the fukeers and beggars of the camp to demand charity from all good Hindoos. For two hours they continued to run up and down vociferating "*Poonyuh ke weylah ! Poonyuh ke weylah :*" "Now's the time to do good deeds!" A *chuppao* would have made less noise. In the morning heavy rain, and storms all day; the air most cool and refreshing. Sent for Dewan Dowlut Raie's *Motbir* to know why the Dewan delays honouring the draft on him sent by Dena Nath for the pay of this force (65,000 rupees)? In reply he declares that the Durbar have already overdrawn their account, but will not balance the books, and the harvest has been so bad all throughout his country, in consequence of the drought, that it is with difficulty he can make good the terms of his *moshuksah*, let alone affording to advance money. This is a very fair plea as it stands, but it may or may not be true; and the draft drawn by Dena Nath is evidence that *he* takes a different view of the question. Moreover our men are positively in want. Here all purchases are for ready money and plunder severely punished. The sepoys therefore naturally grumbled at being kept out of their pay, and I have told the Dewan he must raise the money among the bankers of Dera Ismail Khan. If, on balancing his accounts with the Durbar, it shall appear that the Durbar has no claim on him for the money, I have promised to recommend the case for the consideration of Colonel Lawrence, in order that the interest accruing on the loan may be discharged by the Sirkar and not fall on the Dewan.

In the evening Dewan Dowlut Raie and the Mullicks of Murwut attended at my tent to consult about a new settlement for that province. Full particulars connected with this question I reserve till something definite is arranged, and merely note *here*, as significant of the evils of the present settlement, that Murwut is held in *moshuksah* by Dewan Dowlut Raie at a rent of 32,000 rupees per annum, all expenses of fort, etc., etc., falling on himself. His last Khurreef collection was 18,300 rupees and the Khurreef is to the Rubbee as 1 to 1½. The full year therefore would be a collection of 45,750 rupees, or 13,750 rupees in excess of the Durbar's claim, and this small surplus he talks of as a hardship. The year was a year of drought.

2nd April 1847.—Camp Bhurut.—General Cortlandt, Colonel Budrinath, etc., called on me this morning to represent that the distress of the soldiers for want of pay was really serious, many being without food, and all drill suspended in consequence. I sent a message to Sirdar Shumshere Sing, through his *Motbir*, that I advised him to serve out what revenue had already been realised in Bunnoo. In reply he informs me that there is not more than 5,000 rupees left, as Dewan Hookum Chund, General Cortlandt, and others have already realised either wholly or in part the assignments they had on the Bunnoo revenue.

This is very improper, and I have requested that the claims of the rich may be deferred till those of the poor are satisfied. I must do Sirdar Shumshere Sing the justice to say that he has not helped himself to his own, which amounts to 5,000 rupees, but has on the contrary advanced money out of his own private purse. He should not, however, have yielded to the importunities of others. As a last resource I have caused a month's batta to be served out to the whole force, out of the funds in the treasurer's hands to pay the Ghorchurras, who are not so hard pressed. A long interview with the Mullicks and zumindars of Murwut. They declare they are ignorant even of the amount of revenue fixed on Murwut in the Lahore *Duftar*, that the Dewan does not allow them to have their own village accountants, but sends his own Punjabee Moonshees to make the settlements, who agree to one maund before their faces and write down ten maunds behind their backs; that in short they have no records and only know that they are in a state of poverty. Their request is that only a sixth of the produce of the soil be taken by the Sirkar, and no other revenue! At present it seems to be that if one-fourth of the produce was fixed as their revenue, and all other taxes abolished, it would relieve the Murwutees, and yet, one year with another, produce more revenue.

Some more Vizeeree Mullicks have come in, and one brought with him a time-honoured certificate of Moorcroft's to the following effect:—

"It having been wished by certain Wuzeerees that I should leave with them indications of friendship, I have pleasure in complying with their desire so far as to certify that my party have been treated

with hospitality and respect by the under-written persons belonging to the Ooloos of Wullee Kheyl, *viz.*, Izzut Khan, Jan Khan, Sherafut Khan, Meindock Khan, Mullick Khan and Mushick Khan. I have reason to believe that the whole of the Ooloos of Wullee Kheyl may be considered as my friends.

(Signed) WILLIAM MOORCROFT.

Zearut Akhoond Meerdad, April 3rd, 1824."

After lying two-and-twenty years between the leaves of a Koran unread, probably forgotten by most of those whom it concerns, it is now perused for the first time by one of those countrymen to whom indirectly it appeals for a grateful recognition of past services.

This evening Sirdar Shumshere Sing called on me with Dewan Hookum Chund and Meean Ruttun Sing, and after some general conversation gave the two latter a hint to withdraw, when he drew out an *Ukhbar* from his Vakeel at Lahore and under great excitement proceeded to read to me a passage which detailed some sneering remarks made by Sirdar Tej Sing in the Durbar on the occasion of Sirdar Shumshere Sing's report of the Bunnoo settlement being read. The Sirdar is reported to have said that "Shumshere Sing had orders to collect Rs. 1,65,000 of arrears, and had only demanded Rs. 1,30,000, making dirt of the public money"! Another passage of the *Ukhbar* related some similar sarcasms of Dewan Dena Nath; and the Sirdar was much moved at the "be-izzutee" which he considers these remarks made before all the court reflect upon him. They are moreover unfounded, as the Sirdar has the written orders of the Durbar from Dewan Dena Nath himself to accept 1,20,000 rupees as recommended by Colonel Lawrence, and if they privately gave any other orders to Sirdar Shumshere Sing, which I am now inclined to think they did (for it will be remembered that at an interview with the Mullicks on 16th March, at which I was not present, he did ask 1,65,000 rupees and nearly drove them out of camp), the blame of his not acting up to them rests entirely with me.

The Sirdar says that Tej Sing one month accuses him of conspiring against his life, another month of deserting his public duty and will never cease till he has worked his ruin. Shumshere Sing is, in

general, apathetic and heavy in his manner, and I never saw him aroused before. He has evidently got something in him.

3rd April 1847—Camp Bhurut in Bunnoo.—Having considered all the facts laid before me by Dewan Dowlut Raie and the zumindars of Murwut, relative to the state of that province, and the system there adopted of collecting revenue, I this morning put my own proposition on paper, and sent it to Sirdar Shumshere Sing for his opinion; and as he cordially coincided, I sent for the Dewan and asked him if he also approved, and if he thought it would be consistent with his own interest to hold the Murwut revenue in *moshuksah* on my terms.

He agreed that I had rather bettered than injured his prospects by equalising his revenue, and thereby satisfying the people. Accordingly I desired him to bring all the Mullicks and zumindars of Murwut to my tent in the evening; when I, at once, proposed to them to abolish the odious tax of the *Putka*, and bring all the Sirkar's demands under one head, *viz.*, a fourth of the produce of the soil. (Full particulars will be given in a separate letter.) They tried hard, like their neighbours, the Bunnoochees, to get this reduced; but when I told them that their own complaints against the *Putka* were most just in my opinion, and that that tax must be repealed, that this could not be done without giving a larger share of the produce of the soil to Government, and lastly that the only difference between their consenting or not consenting would be, that in the one case I should give them a lease which would protect them against any greater exactions, and in the other, of course, they would have none, they said unanimously "Very well, we will agree to any arrangement which you think will better our condition, for it is impossible to be worse off than we are!" Though they offered to give a written agreement there and then, I thought it best that they should have time to consider among themselves, and told them I would send for them again in a day or two. At night two or three of the leading men among the Murwutees were sent on a deputation to my tent, and proceeded to detail afresh the destitution and poverty of the people in consequence of Murwut being so far from the capital that their Kardars are without a check. Their prayer now was that whatever settlement be made shall have for its *basis* the removal of Dowlut Raie and "The Mooltanees." (The Dewan has certainly got a very bad name in these parts, but it seems to me that

he does not earn it himself. He appears a good natured, stupid man, who wishes nobody any harm and lets everybody do as he pleases so long as *he* can lead a quiet life. The persons who surround him, and in whose hands he is a quite a tool, are the real administrators of the *ilakah.* They are old servants of his father, and so well versed in the country that they know exactly how to oppress it.) "Only give us a Kardar of your own," said the Murwut Mullicks, "and we shall be content with *any* arrangements."

4th April 1847—Camp Bhurut.—The grain all round us having now been cut, it is necessary to move. (This encamping ground, high and dry, has restored our men to health.) At dawn therefore I took 20 sowars and, accompanied by General Cortlandt, rode out into the country to look for another position suitable for our camp—no easy matter to find in this flooded valley. We were fortunate in our search, and fixed upon a spot six miles higher up on the left bank of the Lohrah, after which we explored three or four miles farther towards the hills; and then making a wide sweep to the north-east reached the banks of the Koorrum, when we again turned to the south, and after a pleasant ride of five hours through the heart of Bunnoo reached our camp again. On our way back we made a slight detour to see Bazaar, the chief, and in fact only, town in Bunnoo. It is nothing more than a large mud village with three or four cross streets of Buniyah's shops; but the only trade carried on in the valley is there, and every Friday it is the scene of a kind of fair, the Bunnoochees, the Murwutees, the Vizeerees, and the Khuttuks, flocking there in crowds varying from 20,000 to 40,000 men, every one of whom is armed to the teeth in case of any rows springing up. Here the hillmen drive down their *doombahs*, cows, goats, and camels, for sale, and take back flour, sweetmeats, *loongees*, swords, etc., in exchange. The traders of Bazaar are all Hindoos and are in much the same position among the Afghan population as the Jews used to be in England and indeed still are. Among their "disabilities" is wearing a turban, which is considered too sacred a symbol of the Muhammadan faith to be allowed to infidel Hindoos, who are consequently obliged to trust their skulls to a small round cap which must be a poor defence against the proverbial strength of the Bunnoo sun. On our arrival in the town the Hindoos hastened to bring trays of sweetmeats, almonds and raisins, etc., etc.,

as an offering. Poor people, doubtless the thought in their hearts was "when will you come and establish yourselves in Bunnoo, and let us lift our heads among these Puthans." Lal Baz Khan, the Chief of Bazaar, also met us in the street. He is a good dispositioned young man, ever ready to oblige, and as soon as he caught sight of us, he ran up, took me by the knee, and talking torrents of Pushtoo carried me off triumphantly to his house (a high mud fort in the town) whence he ordered a horse to be brought out as a *nuzzur*, and was so extravagantly delighted at the honor of the visit that we had some trouble to get away. In the court-yard of Lal Baz's house were a great many slabs of salt brought from Kurruk, north of Bunnoo. Each slab was about a foot and a half square and four inches thick, and its price was one anna only; at Kandahar each slab costs one rupee. The colour of this salt was white and not red like the salt I saw at Pind Dadun Khan, to which the natives even of our own camp say it is much superior. In the evening a son of Dillassah Khan came in to report that the servant of Meer Alum Khan, who went with the foraging party this morning to point out the grain belonging to some runaway zumindar, had pointed out (in spite) some fields belonging to old Dillassah Khan, which were consequently reaped before the mistake was discovered. Dillassah behaved extremely well upon the occasion; made no opposition, but sent his son in to make his complaint, and as I had hitherto strictly abided by the rule of not cutting the grain of present proprietors, I determined to make an example of the delinquent who did not attempt to deny what he had done. I sent for all the Chiefs, therefore, and had the man well flogged before them, fining Meer Alum Khan also the full price of the corn.

At night the whole camp was alarmed by three rounds of firing, which proved to be a salute fired (as is usual among the Sikhs) by some *zumboorahs* which joined us in the morning. This reminds me of a ludicrous affair which happened some nights ago. Sirdar Shumshere Sing sent a servant out to "go the rounds" and see if the sentries were alert. He went creeping out in the dark, as he thought very cleverly and quite unperceived, when he was suddenly electrified by a challenge from a piquet within 40 yards of him. Fright deprived him of his recollection; he could not think of the parole; and at last two or three balls whizzing about his ears sent him back faster than he came to inform the Sirdar that the sentries were wide awake.

5th April 1847—Camp Khuwosee in Bunnoo.—This morning we marched here from Bhurut, six miles; and are encamped with our rear resting on the left bank of the Lohrah; and our front thrown out in the shape of a half moon towards the Koorrum.

Having received a letter this morning from Colonel Lawrence in which he mentioned that the Durbar do not think they ought to pay for the corn cut by our foragers in Bunnoo, I determined to act immediately upon the suggestion. No loss has hitherto been suffered by the Durbar, as the corn cut up to this date has been from the lands of runaways, and whether deducted or not it appears but too probable that this is all the revenue we shall obtain from these proprietors. But we are now entering lands whose proprietors are present, and who expect that the forage is to be taken in part of revenue. It was necessary to inform them at once therefore that this is not the case; and sending for Kazee Mohummud Kassim, who is the universal interpreter, I desired him to give notice to all the Mullicks that their dilatory conduct deserved no longer consideration on our part, and henceforward no allowance will be made them for the loss of their corn. The longer we are detained, the more they will lose.

I have been compelled by the same delay on the part of the Bunnoochees to make another alteration in our mode of dealing with them. It will be remembered that at the solicitation of the small zumindars, I left them at liberty either to pay their shares of revenue through their Mullicks, or direct. Great was the gratitude expressed for this concession, but few have followed up their professions by voluntary payment of their instalments. No sooner were they relieved of one evil, the oppression of the middle-man, than they thought it might be possible to escape payment altogether. Reluctantly therefore I handed them once more over to the Mullicks, whose barbarous language of blows, imprisonment and fines is, I am afraid, more suited to their comprehension than the patient forbearance we have shown. Next turned my attention to carrying out the threatened sale, or rather mortgage, of insolvent estates, and Lal Baz Khan at once agreed to join Sher Must Khan in buying up three or four forts and their surrounding lands. Swahn Khan, Vizeer, also seemed to like the idea of for once in the way getting honest possession of lands in Bunnoo. Jaffir Khan likewise undertook to make those of his tenants who are present take up the

mortgage on the lands of the absentees. But all these would not make good more than 10,000 rupees, and go but a small way to filling up the great gap in our receipts caused by the absence of six whole *tuppahs* of the Meeree *goondee* who should pay 39,000 rupees.

The Murwut zumindars again came to me in a body this evening with a proposition that they should either pay one-fourth of the produce of the soil as their annual revenue, and have that one-fourth taken at the harvest by the Kardar, or one-fifth estimated by survey of the green crop, the difference of course being that by the former system the zumindars can cheat the Kardars, and by the latter the Kardar can cheat the zumindars. I again told them that less than a full one-fourth would not pay the Government demand.

10 P.M.—I have just had a long and very satisfactory interview with the Bunnoo Chiefs, at which I laid the following points before them :—

1st.—That no more forage would be paid for.

2ndly.—That each Chief is for the future to be answerable for his ryots.

3rdly.—That I now proceed to confiscate the insolvent estates.

With respect to the last point I pointed out to them a very simple mode of taking these estates in mortgage among themselves. Suppose two-thirds of a *tuppah* are present and one-third absent, the lands of the absent are put up for sale. The Mullick of the *tuppah*, if he is a sensible man, sees that it is better to keep the land from passing into the hands of the Vizeerees, and he divides the money due upon the insolvent estate among the tenants of the two-thirds who are present. They then possess themselves of the ground and cultivate it for the common good. When the absent owners return they must either redeem their land by paying the revenue thus advanced and the interest due on it, or be expelled.

Considerable discussion followed, and the Chiefs finally declared that they would go to-morrow each to his own *tuppah*, call together the people, and take up the lands. I was very short with them, for they have abused the indulgence that has been shown them ; and to do away with all misconceptions I begged them to believe that with my own free will I would never march out of the valley until they had paid up the last halfpenny, even if the sun roasts us all in our tents. They retired more in earnest than I have seen them since our arrival.

6th April 1847—Camp Khuwosee in Bunnoo.—Last night some Bunnoochees, or more probably Vizeerees, approached our left flank and shouted the Musulman call to prayers by way of taunting the Sikhs. This I am told used to be the nightly serenade of the Sikh armies in former times. Received the following petition from the chief Mullicks of Murwut:—"We, Durrik Khan, Ubdul Summud Khan, Sirwur Khan, and Lungur Khan, Nawab Khan, Ghunnee Khan, etc., humbly represent that Dewan Dowlut Raie is our Kardar, and prosperity quite out of the question! With another Kardar all would be well, but if a change does not take place we are ruined. The *Sahib*, however, is master to do as he pleases; we are only humble dependants on his kindness. The *Sahib* asks why we do not agree to give one-fourth of the produce of our soil to the Sirkar? Let him not mistake. If the one-twentieth only of the produce is settled to be our revenue and this Dewan is left as our Kardar, the prosperity of Murwut is an unreasonable expectation. It will be depopulated, etc., etc., etc."

This is the strongest protest I have yet met with against any Kardar, and I believe it to be the feeling of the people. Jaffir Khan and Meer Alum Khan came to get sowars to assist them in collecting the revenue. Now that the Mullicks are responsible for the arrears of those zumindars who are present they also promise to get those present to pay the shares of the absent, and take their ground in satisfaction. I fear this is no such easy matter. Most of the other Chiefs have also been with me this morning and say that, on consulting together, they find they cannot advance the money due by the absent. They plead poverty, and fear of ill-will and retaliation. These are empty excuses to avoid paying two-thirds of the arrears, and I am sorry to find that there is no way of compelling them to do so. I was sanguine in believing that when the estates of the absent were thrown open to the Vizeerees, the Mullicks would come forward and themselves become the mortgagees. But they have not done so, neither will the Vizeerees purchase. The majority of the runaways have taken refuge with the Vizeerees in the hills; and those wild people, unawed by any master, preserve the laws of hospitality inviolate. It is more probable that they consider it dishonorable to assist even in the lawful confiscation of the property of persons who have taken refuge with them than that they are unwilling to acquire lands in Bunnoo. All fair means have now been exhausted

I know of no other measure or expedient that can be resorted to to obtain payment of the arrears due by the absent. That the runaways are in concert with the Chiefs present is both my own and Sirdar Shumshere Sing's conviction, but there is no proof of it, and the Chiefs however slowly are discharging their own liabilities. The written agreement which they signed runs thus :—

" And we are to be allowed a deduction from this total for those zumindars who have fled, *provided always that we use our best endeavours to recall those runaways to their homes and leave no means untried of doing the same, etc.*"—a condition which I feel assured they have altogether left unfulfilled.

Were the Mullicks therefore to be seized this day, and put under restraint until they recall the fugitives, or make good their defalcation, it would be no more than their deserts and would save the Durbar the disappointment and ourselves the severe mortification of returning unsuccessful. But they came in to me originally on assurance of safety and honorable treatment, and it is better that a temporary inconvenience should be suffered by an over-punctilious observance of good faith than that a future expedition should be embarrassed by want of confidence in " a Sahib." We have no hold of the Chiefs in this hurried visit and they feel it. It would be a relief if they would oppose us, but open opposition there is none, no overt act that can be taken up. Secretly they are I believe conniving at the absence of the zumindars ; but in appearance they are powerless to recall them. There is no army to fight with, no visible foe, and now that everything has been done in the way of conciliation and fair dealing to obtain payment of the arrears, in vain, it seems hopeless to expect that any sum of annual revenue, however moderate, will be voluntarily paid by Bunnoo to the Sirkar. The proposed and promised settlement of 40,000 rupees therefore I consider forfeited and annulled, and trust that the Durbar will proceed as soon as the season will allow to assume the direct management of the valley, which will at once be more profitable and tend more to consolidate their kingdom. At present Bunnoo is a gap of anarchy between the two *ilakahs* of Peshawur and Dera Ismael Khan and weakens both by separation. Two shots were fired into camp this night and returned with interest.

7th April 1847--Camp Khuwosee.—Rode out with General Cortlandt to choose another encamping ground, which we did in the heart of a *tuppah* called Mumush Kheyl which is deserted. Received a demi-official letter from Colonel Lawrence, advising no farther delay than seven days; and to tell the Chiefs that if by that time they do not pay up the arrears, a force will be sent next season, and they must take the consequences. This decides the matter; and in the way which promises to be best for all parties. Only this very morning old Dillassah Khan replied to my threat of building a fort here some day if the Chiefs did not behave better, by saying, "That is the one thing for which I pray! I am now a broken down old man, my life has been from the time I can remember one of broils and wars and apprehensions; when not at war with the Dooranees or the Sikhs, we fight among ourselves; and I am sick of it. All I now ask is that some stronger power than us all would step in and keep Vizeerees, Khuttuks and Bunnoochees in their places that I may spend the last years of my life in quiet!" I will see Sirdar Shumshere Sing and to-morrow communicate to the Mullicks this final order.

At last the Murwut settlement is completed. In public and private interviews, having now heard all that is to be said on both sides, I collected the Dewan and the Mullicks at my tent this evening, and made out before them both a record of the terms mutually agreed on. I will forward a copy with full details to-morrow.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 15.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 8th to the 10th April 1847.

8th April 1847.—Left Khuwosee, where we had consumed all the crop, and marched to Mumush Kheyl, a *tuppah* which, though deserted, seems to be left in very good hands, for its crops are well watered and flourishing, a sufficient proof, if any were wanting, of the mutual understanding between the present and absent zumindars. The common practice seems to be for those who run away to leave their property and lands with Syuds, who then call the crops their own and claim exemption. "We never pay; our lands are excused all revenue." If you

ask "who exempted them?" the answer is, "the zumindars!", so that the Sirkar is modestly requested to defray the private charities of its rebellious subjects out of the public purse. I directed all crops to be cut as they come to hand, without distinction, saving only those of persons who have already paid. On arriving at the encamping ground we found ourselves just in time to anticipate another trick of our good friends the Syuds. Their forts are all around us; and to get rid of us, if possible, they had let loose the canals, and turned the water towards our camp. Happening to catch sight of a large band of them, who were watching the effect of this experiment, I sent sowars to take them in the rear, and drive them up to me, when I made them strip and jump into the ditches, and dam up the streams they had let loose, a mischief which they found was not so easily repaired as done. It took between two and three hours' labour to divert the flood, but our encamping ground was not touched. Sirdar Shumshere Sing brought all the Mullicks of Bunnoo to my tent to hear Colonel Lawrence's final orders. I told them they were now to consider my promises as only conditional on the payment of the revenue within seven days, after which time this force will march from Bunnoo; the lease of 40,000 rupees per annum for the future will be annulled; and another army come at the close of the year to establish a permanent cantonment and enclose the province of Bunnoo within the boundaries of Sikh administration. The announcement was unexpected, and was received with very different feelings, many looking forward with pleasure to the introduction of a power among them superior to either or both of their constantly squabbling factions, and able, moreover, to defend them from the incursions of the Vizeerees. The general effect on the minds of the Chiefs, however, was to make them doubt for the first time the wisdom of the course they have been pursuing, and the rest of the day was devoted by them to anxious counsel and debate. I have since refused many applications to reduce the demand, informing the applicants that it is better to leave the whole sum in their hands out at interest for a few months than to compound with them now. As things have turned out, they have certainly made a bad speculation of it; for besides the difference in prospect between 40,000 rupees and 1,00,000 rupees per annum, the crops that have now been cut, and the expenses of removal (for they pulled down all their houses and carried away the timber to the hills), are a dead loss to the community.

Had another meeting of Dewan Dowlut Raie and the Murwutee Chiefs, drawing up and discussing the written agreements that are to be mutually given. At last all is settled, and both sides well pleased.

A few shots were fired in the night from a prudent distance at our sentries; the vigilance and good discipline of our camp has given considerable offence to the prowling Vizeerees, who are on the look out for plunder. They complain bitterly that even a miserable jackass is not to be picked up.

General Cortlandt deserves credit for his arrangements, and the Sikh troops for the cheerfulness with which they submit to a discipline to which they are unused.

9th April 1847—Camp Mumush Kheyl.—A parade this morning of Baboo Pandah's Corps, which, being first for duty, has been selected to remain at Lukkee. The Baboo had stated his men to be old and worn out, but I went up the first rank and down the rear, and could only see eight greybeards. Indeed I have not seen so young a body of men in the Sikh service. The only fault to be found with the regiment was its being ill-sized. I told the men they would get one rupee eight annas extra as long as they were stationed on this side of the Attock and that they would ultimately get the marching allowance at the rate of one rupee per month, which was promised them on their march from Lahore to the Indus. On Baboo Pandah I enjoined conciliatory behaviour towards the people of the country, and told him he was personally responsible for the same. He seems a respectable man, and not likely to disobey these instructions. I advised him the first thing he does to see that three months' supplies for 1,200 men are laid into the fort of Lukkee; and the cistern for the water lined with masonry instead of being left, as it is now, a mere hole scraped in the ground. The lines of the regiment are to be at the distance of a musket shot and a half from the fort, so that, when the men retire into the fort, their deserted cantonment may be too far off for the enemy to employ as an entrenchment. A mud wall, the height of a man's shoulder, is to run round the lines.

Dewan Dowlut Raie declaring that he cannot honor the assignment of 65,000 rupees made on him by the Durbar for the pay of this force, unless he is permitted to go himself to Dera Ismail Khan, he is to leave with Baboo Pandah to-morrow.

10th April 1847.—This being a Hindoo holiday, Baboo Pandah and Dewan Dowlut Raie beg to defer their march till to-morrow. The Baboo has received very judicious written instructions from Sirdar Shumshere Sing. Muzuffar Khan, son of Mullick Allah Yar of Kalah Bagh, petitioned on the part of the traders on the Attock to be allowed to load the boats held at the disposal of this force. I begged him, on the contrary, to collect a larger quantity at Kalah Bagh (by which road the army must now return).

Received a visit from the *Chowdrees* of the Hindoos of Bazaar. They tell me there are 100 houses of them in that town, and that they have four Thakoordwarahs and two Dhurumsalahs. The whole trade of Bunnoo is in the hands of Hindoos with the exception (characteristic of the two races) of that in swords, firearms and gunpowder, all of which are manufactured and sold by Mahomedans.

A sepoy getting up into a mulberry tree close to camp this morning found concealed among the branches a long musket, loaded with a charge eight fingers deep, doubtless prepared to salute our sentries to-night.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 16.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 11th to the 13th April 1847.

11th April 1847—Camp Mumush Kheyl, Bunnoo.—This morning Baboo Pandah's Regiment left us, and marched to Bhurut on its road to Lukkee. Dewan Dowlut Raie is in a hurry to get back to Dera Ismael Khan and has gone two marches to Cashmere ke Kot. The Mullicks of Murwut, before leaving camp, called at my tent to make their *salaam*, and expressed themselves as grateful for the settlement that has been made. They tell me, however, that the Dewan has managed to trouble it with a new difficulty, having threatened to discontinue the allowance which the Mullicks have been in the habit of receiving from the Kardar. When Dowlut Raie called to take his leave, I asked him if he considered his revenues increased or diminished by the new arrangements? He answered: "Neither. They are much the same." What excuse then for cutting down the pensions of the Mullicks,

already sufficiently discontented with their Kardar? Yet this is the extent of his foresight and policy. To economise 3,000 rupees he disturbs the settlement of 80,000 rupees. I advised him to come to a distinct understanding with the Mullicks without delay and give them a written acknowledgment of their claim being recognised. He promised to do so, and as I return through Lukkee I will remember to inquire about it. He is behaving very ill also about the assignment made on him by the Durbar for 65,000 rupees to pay this force, and I told him plainly that if he did not speedily comply with it, I should make a formal complaint of his contumacy to the Durbar, who will not be best pleased at his starving 10,000 soldiers to prove his own poverty. He talks of reaching Dera Ismael Khan in five days. There are some indications of a desire among the Mullicks to pay up the arrears of the absent after all. I hear that in a council held last night they all agreed to do so except Bazeed Khan, Sooraunee, who obstinately held out, and carried his point. The sowars, who have been picketed upon him, say he has the best fort in Bunnoo.

Mooseh Khan called in the evening and coolly reported that he had paid in his own revenue (a few hundred rupees), and wanted to know if there was anything more for him to do. (*N.B.*—Not one of his ryots has paid up.) I turned him out of the tent and told him not to return till he brought the revenue of every zumindar now present in his *tuppah*. To hasten his movements a *dustuk* of ten sowars, at five rupees each a day, has been sent to his house.

This is the 1st of *Bysakh*, the St. Patrick's Day of the Sikhs, usually devoted to riot and debauchery, but excellent order and discipline pervades the camp.

A Jummadar commanding 50 Eusoofzyees, lately in the service of Futteh Khan, Towanah, but thrown out of employment by the Mullick's apprehension, called to seek service with me I sent him on to Peshawur, as Lieutenant Lumsden may probably entertain some of his party in the Guide Corps.

12th April 1847—Camp Mumush Kheyl.—Mullick Bazeed Khan playing the same game as Mooseh Khan yesterday. Packed him off to his *tuppah* and told him to see that he brought in the revenue of the present zumindars before the expiration of the "seven days." He has

already got 35 of our sowars to assist him in collecting it; and a *rozeenah* of one rupee each has been fixed on them to make their presence a little more disagreeable.

As it is now clear that another force must come here in the autumn and the valley be brought regularly under control of a Kardar, I shall not enter upon the investigation of the claims of the Vizeerees to the lands they hold in Bunnoo. It is a complicated case and will take more investigation than the few days now left would enable me to give it. I have told Swahn Khan, Vizeer, therefore, that it must stand over for a few months; and he had better not encroach any farther in the interim unless he wishes to lose all.

Old Dillassah Khan paid me a short visit in the evening, and asked in rather a curious tone why I had left off joking with him for the last two or three days? I told him there was a time for all things, and I had already shown too much kindness and consideration to the Bunnoo Mullicks. About an hour after midnight I was awakened by Sirdar Shumshere Sing's *Motbir*, who came to inform me that Dillassah Khan had fled to the hills! The sentries stopped a Bunnoochee who was going out of the camp and inquired who he was, and where he was going? He answered: "I am the son of Dillassah Khan; my father has run away like a fool to the hills, and I am going to bring him back!" The sentry with much intelligence told him that if what he said was true, he thought his presence would be required in camp for a little longer period. So he brought him in to the Sirdar. I immediately slipped on my clothes and went over to the Sirdar's tent, when we both agreed that as it was impossible to tell what Dillassah's motives were, and whether he had fled in fright, or was concerting mischief with the other Chiefs, the best thing to be done was to put those who were in camp *hors de combat* at once. First passing the word round the sentries to let no one pass out of camp till daylight, or further orders, I brought Sumshere Sing over to my tent, and sent a chupprassee to call Sher Must Khan (the chief man in Bunnoo, who happened most fortunately to be in camp), as if nothing particular was the matter. He came attended by his fat Kazee, who is at the bottom of all mischief; and one after the other, in this way, came Mooseh Khan's son, Meer Alum's brother, and one or two *Motbirs* of other absent Chiefs; all the rest were away at their *tuppahs* collecting revenue. Drawing a company of sepoys round

the tent, we then communicated to them the information of Dillassah's flight, and the necessity of keeping them out of mischief, and lodged them for the rest of the night in my hill tent with a lamp burning before them and sentries all round. They all were, or affected to be, astonished at Dillassah's escape, and I am inclined to think that though they were not ignorant of his intention, they did not expect him to go so suddenly.

A sowar, who is with me and who understands Pushtoo, crept under the sides of the tent and heard them all execrating old Dillassah pretty roundly for the trick he had played them in absconding *without giving them due notice!* The next thing to be done was to call in our detached sowars, and Havildar's parties of Infantry, who are with the Mullicks of the different *tuppahs*, for if Dillassah's flight was a part of a concerted scheme, these small parties would be seized and murdered as soon as it got wind. Accordingly, messengers were sent off in every direction to call them quickly back, and so little alarm was caused that, the first thing in the morning, Bazeed Khan's youngest son came unsuspectingly to camp, and was added to the select party in the tent. A nephew of Dillassah's was afterwards caught in like manner, also a brother of Lal Baz Khan; but as this latter has already paid up the revenue due on his whole *tuppah*, whether absent or present, his brother was not confined, but sent with a *purwannah* of encouragement to Lal Baz, who of his own accord came in afterwards, and is busily engaged in supplying us with *atta*, etc.

13th April 1847—Camp Mumush Kheyl.—Mooseh Khan has come in since noon to take his son's place in captivity. Altogether we have now, by this unexpected step of Dillassah's, been made masters of the game, and, were it desirable, could obtain payment probably not only of the shares of those zumindars who are present but of those who are absent also. But events have already sufficiently shown the hopelessness of expecting that if a lease of 40,000 rupees a year were granted to the Bunnoochees, it would be acted up to for a single year. Another expedition, and the permanent occupation of the province, is now unavoidable; and no motive exists for keeping this force any longer in the field at this severe season of the year. The revenue of all the present zumindars is secured by last night's explosion, and will all

come in before the "seven days" expire. We propose therefore to follow still Colonel Lawrence's instructions and march on 17th unless hostilities arise, when of course we shall consider ourselves the army of occupation, and commence at once the reduction of the valley.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 17.--Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 14th April 1847.

14th April 1847—Camp Mumush Kheyl, Bunnoo.—I did not enter into the reasons for Dillassah's flight in yesterday's Diary because I could not satisfactorily account for it in any way. He had been treated by me with more consideration than any of the rest, partly on account of his age, and partly because he never submitted himself before. The day before yesterday he complained that my manner was less kind than it used to be ; but I was only cool to him and angry with most of the others, so that if my smiles and frowns had anything to do with it, he should have been at least the last to run away. A Buniyah, who came into camp from Dillassah's fort to get a guard for his shop, said that the old man had been frightened by a visit which Sirdar Shumshere Sing had paid to *Dillassah kee gurhee* with a large escort of Cavalry in the afternoon of the 12th April, which visit Dillassah thought was a reconnaissance previous to an attack, and this elucidation is the one commonly received in our camp.

But I begin to suspect that some of the Sikhs have been cracking their jokes with old Dillassah and telling him that he is to be carried to Lahore when the force retires, in which case he thought no time was to be lost. This is the opinion of some of the other Mullicks and probably they had it from himself, though they do not like to own that they were aware of his intention to abscond.

As yet there is no reason to believe that it was part of any preconcerted scheme of hostilities, but on the other hand we may have effectually crushed such a plan by seizing the rest of the conspirators.

No firing took place during the night. A considerable impulse has been given to the payment of revenue by this affair, which has turned greatly to our advantage. Up to this time we have abided rigidly by our laid down system of conciliation and kindness, even though we were evidently the losers by it and were tying our own hands. So long as no overt act of bad faith was committed we kept our suspicions to ourselves. Now, however, our hands are released, and it behoves us to take care that the other Mullicks do not follow Dillassah's example, without going through the ceremony of paying their revenue beforehand. Not a voice is raised against the imprisonment of the Chiefs, but all hands unite in denouncing Dillassah for compromising his friends. Secrets are coming out also. They are frightened, and each Chief obsequiously volunteers to reveal the peculations of his neighbour. We have for some time known that many villages have been set down "as deserted" whose inhabitants are quietly pursuing their usual occupations in their homes and fields. In other places, the zumindars have been sent out of the way, a few miles, to hide in other villages and come by stealth during the night to irrigate their fields. But so strong was the combination that we could get no proof. Now many of these concealments are coming to light. Dillassah Khan himself had falsely stated one-quarter of his own *tuppah* to be deserted, whereas only one or two villages are absent, and Sher Must Khan of Jhundoo Kheyl (the mystery of whose *tuppah* we could never fathom as everybody was afraid to betray the most powerful man in Bunnoo) had contrived not to register one-half of his *tuppah*. I think every instance of proved bad faith in this way may appropriately be punished by turning the tables on the offenders and making them responsible for the whole *tuppah* whether its villages are registered as inhabited or not; for if a man would register one village falsely, who can tell how many others he has misrepresented.

In a letter received this morning from Colonel Lawrence he authorises us to stay till the end of the month, if it appear advisable. Sirdar Shumshere Sing proposes a very good plan, that we should adhere to our expressed intention of marching on 17th, but instead of retracing our steps, complete the circle in which we are now moving round the town of Bazaar (which is the centre of Bunnoo), and

having advanced up the western side, now return by the eastern, halting a day or even two at each ground so as to make the most of the advantage we have now over the Chiefs. This will bring us close upon the end of the month before we emerge from Bunnoo again at Cashmere ke Kot.

I sent for the sentry who arrested Dillassah Khan's son on the night of the 12th and gave him 40 rupees as a reward for his intelligence. He proved to be a Goorkha from the Almorah Hills.

Gooldad Khan, the present Kardar of Kolachee, arrived in camp and paid me a visit. I omitted to chronicle the arrival of his uncle Ali Khan some days ago. The latter, it seems, has been expelled to make room for his nephew, and has come to make his complaint, so Gooldad has followed to defend his position. I will relate the particulars when I have heard both sides.

A *Mothir* arrived this morning from Dewan Moolraj of Mooltan with a letter in answer to one which I wrote to the Dewan from the banks of the Indus, respecting the settlement I had made between the rival districts of Bhuchur-ke-Wahn and Lumbuh, in Kuchee. That affair has now come to a most happy and satisfactory conclusion, both sides having restored the stolen cattle and given in their notes of satisfaction. The Dewan has adopted the bond which I framed for the two above-mentioned districts and enforced it in 12 other *zillahs* bordering on Kuchee, where the same predatory warfare is carried on. He sent the 12 security papers by the *Motbir* to me for signature.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 18.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 15th and 16th April 1847.

15th April 1847—Camp Mumush Kheyl, Bunnoo.—General Cortlandt rode out this morning, attended by Lal Baz Khan, Bazarwallah, to endeavour to find a road for the guns and encamping ground for the force,

on this (the right) bank of the river Koorrum : but came back unsuccessful. Reflecting on the matter I thought it would be a good thing to get on the other side of the Koorrum. No Sikh force has ever crossed the Koorrum in Bunnoo, and the Mullicks and people have got into the habit of thinking that no force *can* cross it; that the Sooraunee *tuppahs*, Jhundoo Kheyl, etc., are strongholds whither they may at any time retreat. At this moment I am told the mass of the cattle belonging to the fugitive Meerees is concealed among these privileged villages on the left bank of the Koorrum. Apart, therefore, from the question of their present revenue, it is desirable to destroy the idea that non-ratepayers are safe anywhere within the bounds of Bunnoo. About 3 P.M. therefore I set out with General Cortlandt, and, taking Lal Baz again as a guide, crossed the Koorrum and explored the country beyond. The Koorrum at this season has little water in it, and what there is straggles about in five or six smaller channels which wander over the broad pebbly bed of the summer stream. Nowhere was it up to a horse's girths. But its high and perpendicular banks show that it is a fine river when in flood. The country on the other side was most lovely; an undulating landscape of luxuriant crops, trees linked together with wild vine, and running streams, with hills in the background. This is evidently the garden of Bunnoo, all fertile as it is in every part. I have not seen such English scenery in India. We selected a suitable spot for our encampment and returned. The Sappers and Miners will construct rude bridges over the water-courses to-morrow and on the 17th we move on.

I take this opportunity of mentioning the very great service which has been rendered to this force throughout the march, but particularly in Bunnoo by the two companies of Sappers and Miners attached to General Cortlandt's regiments. They are not above their work and do it cheerfully and well. On the banks of the Indus, in Esau Kheyl, and in this flooded valley I know not how we could have got on without them. The Artillery especially would have been disabled.

Received a petition from Kazee Mahomed Kassim requesting me to inform him what crime he had committed that he has been put under restraint. In reply I sent him a *purwannah* informing him that if he did not deserve to be confined on general grounds as the chief adviser

of Sher Must Khan's and Dillassah Khan's *goondee*, I should still have confined him for the fraud on Government of which he stands convicted. As agent of Sher Must Khan, he registered the proprietary of Jhundoo Kheyl as follows:—

One-fourth held by Sher Must Khan.
One-fourth unlawfully seized by the Vizeerees.
One-fourth (Ishmael Kheyl)—deserted.
One fourth (Kalah Kheyl) held by Musteh Khan.

Whereas it is now proved that the two last named quarters are portions of a neighbouring *tuppah* called Shumush Kheyl, and separate altogether from Jhundoo Kheyl, which is a complete *tuppah* in itself, three-fourths being in possession of Sher Must Khan and the other one-fourth in possession of Swahn Khan, Vizeer, by right of purchase from said Sher Must. After this *exposé* I told him there could be no reliance on any of their statements; that my own belief is that there are only seven *tuppahs* in all Bunnoo deserted, *viz.*, six Meeree and one Mumush Kheyl; and consequently that I call upon the Chiefs to pay up the full quotas of the remaining *tuppahs*—total 82,500 rupees, the rest standing over till another force comes in the autumn. If Sher Must Khan refuses to pay for his own *tuppah*, I shall not release him at all. And it will be just as well if he does not pay up: for having him in hand will be so much of the next expedition accomplished. He is a morose, reserved man in his manners, much feared by the other Bunnoochees, whom he rules in consequence. On account of his influence I paid him more attention than any of the other Chiefs, except Dillassah, so long as things went on quietly, and did not too scrupulously investigate the true state of his *tuppah*, though many of the Chiefs who disliked him had whispered that he had falsified the register. For the same reason (his influence) he is the last who can safely be set at liberty when the country is disturbed.

Bazeed Khan, Sooraunee, on the morning after Dillassah's flight, was reported to have gone to the Khuttuk hills to purchase camels to give us in part payment of revenue. This seemed a strange and unprofitable errand, and created a suspicion in my mind that we should never see either the camels or Bazeed himself again. This evening I hear that he has in reality followed Dillassah's example. Whether he

did so by preconcerted agreement with Dillassah, or merely anticipated the measures which we should adopt in consequence of Dillassah's flight, the circumstance equally proves that we were right in securing those Mullicks who were in camp. Bazeed's son, as I mentioned at the time, was arrested on the morning of the 13th.

16th April 1847—Camp Mumush Kheyl, Bunnoo.—A long morning with Alum Khan, son of Mahomed Khan, head of the Esau Kheyl family now in exile in Bunnoo. Their petitions are numerous and confused, as are also the counter-statements of Dewan Dowlut Raie. When I have unravelled the story I will submit it for the consideration of Colonel Lawrence and the Durbar.

It appearing that there is no male member of Dillassah's family now left in the *tuppah* to collect the revenue, we have released Dillassah's nephew for that purpose, as a set off to which risk we have put leg-irons on Dillassah's son. Both the son and nephew profess all ignorance of Dillassah's motives for flight and agree willingly to pay the balance which he has left unpaid. Mooseh Khan requested to be allowed to put his son under arrest instead of himself, as the boy could not collect the revenue from the ryots. Jaffir Khan agreeing also to pay Mooseh Khan's revenue if he runs away, we released him, and the son, laughing heartily, took his father's place. This is a sharp lad who considers himself to have been brought into the world for the especial purpose of being his father's bail. The Sikh Sirdars used regularly to carry him off to extract a *nuzzur* after the revenue had been paid. He is now quite happy; says things have taken their natural turn, and that if he had been put in confinement a fortnight ago, the affair would be all over by this time. I am afraid there is too much truth in his remark, and that justice is to the Bunnoochees an incomprehensible punctilio. The Sikhs quite coincide with them in this view of the question, and see in the small success which has rewarded our moderation, a justification of their own excesses on former occasions. I have some trouble indeed to yield to my own conviction of the necessity of vigorous measures at this crisis, and yet stem the impatience of the camp. Without any provocation they would have wished to begin where we are now leaving off in self-defence. Sher Must Khan also applied to be set at liberty, his son being confined instead of him; but the risk of having Dillassah, Bazeed, and Sher Must (the three Chiefs

of the strongest *goondee* in Bunnoo) all at large at once, is too much to be hazarded at this moment. In the evening I rode out to see if the Sappers and Miners had made good the road to our next encamping ground, and found they had done so. Our Artillery is a good deal shaken by the ups and downs of Bunnoo.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 19.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 17th April 1847.

17th April 1847—Camp Sooraunee tuppahs, Bunnoo.—This morning before it was light a sepoy of the Futteh Pultun who had been eating opium had occasion to leave his tent, and in spite of the remonstrances of the sentries walked out towards a *nullah* of the Koorrum which flows within fifty yards of our last encamping ground, but is separated from it by broken ground and deep ravines. Here it appears four or five plunderers were lying in wait for any of our people who might commence their march before daybreak, and they sprung out upon the half-intoxicated sepoy and cut him down. The sentries ran to his assistance, but he was wounded in thirteen places and died almost immediately.

The camp moved across the river Koorrum, and encamped in the Sooraunee *tuppahs*, exactly opposite Bazaar. This unprecedented invasion, as they consider it, of the royal troops has struck terror into the Sooraunees, and yesterday evening I received an *urzee* from them collectively asking our intentions. I replied that my intention "was to receive their revenue, and the sooner they bring it the better, but at the same time they need be under no alarm for no harm would be done them." Upon this I am told they had a midnight meeting, or council of war, and put the question whether they should hold out or give in? Bazeed Khan was for asserting the ancient immunity of the left bank of the Koorrum, but the general opinion was that that golden age had passed, and the best thing to be done was to submit with a good grace. Opinions being divided, no determination was come to, but they broke up and some fled to the hills and some to the Hindoos whom they are now squeezing unmercifully for a hasty supply of money. I do not

expect much from them, but it is better to march down this bank of the Koorrum to Lukkee enjoying good forage, and destroying the inviolability of the Sooraunee *tuppahs* than to retrace our steps tamely through a country which we have cleared.

A *purwannah* has arrived from the Durbar appointing one of General Cortlandt's regiments to remain at Lukkee instead of Baboo Pandah's Corps. The latter marched some days ago but can exchange as the force returns. It is perhaps as well, for a circumstance has just come to my knowledge, which shows that Baboo Pandah's Corps, in its long stay at Lahore, has imbibed its proper share of the mutinous spirit which disturbed that capital. This force has throughout the march been very ill-supplied with carriage, and Sirdar Shumshere Sing thought it would be a good plan to avail ourselves of Baboo Pandah's camels after his arrival at Lukkee. Accordingly he sent orders to the Baboo to forward them without delay. Yesterday a few arrived; but the camel-men relate that the sepoys of the regiment turned out at Lukkee and refused to let the majority of the camels go; saying, "If you take our camels you may take our muskets, for we'll be off to Lahore, we are not going to stay here in Lukkee without carriage. The camels are our lives!" The Baboo not being able to get the companies to give up their camels, sent off the few that belonged to the magazine, etc., but he sent no report of this affair to General Cortlandt, and the Sirdar's *Motbir* denies that any has been sent to Shumshere Sing, though so awkwardly, that I believe the Sirdar has been so foolishly good-natured as to try to conceal what has occurred. I have written to Baboo Pandah to enquire the truth, informing him that if it is false he is to blame for not attending to the Sirdar's orders and sending all his camels, and if it is true, still more culpable in not reporting so serious an affair to the Sirdar, General Cortlandt, or myself. I have also desired him to confine the ringleaders, and despatch the camels, or report his inability to do either, when the Sirdar will probably relieve him with some other officer whom the sepoys will obey.

In a letter received yesterday from Colonel Lawrence he recommends our making every preparation in our power for the army which must come in the autumn, such as leaving our magazine stores, a Horse Artillery battery, etc., etc., at Lukkee, which will save much unnecessary expense. Having consulted with the Sirdar therefore we have settled

to store all the regimental magazines, and spare shot and shells, etc., etc., of the Artillery in the two forts of Lukkee and Esau Kheyl, sending the Horse Artillery troop to Dera Ismail Khan, where forage is reported to be abundant. At Lukkee the Ghorechurras' horses are already starving for want of forage and in the hot season all the cattle in Murwut are fed on dry *bhoosa*.

This evening after bidding higher and higher bail for his own release, until at last I think he offered a son and five nephews, Sher Must Khan has become satisfied that his relations are of no value to us, and that he must pay his revenue if he wishes for liberty. He promises to send for it to-morrow.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 20.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 18th and 19th April 1847.

18th April 1847—Camp Sooraunee tuppahs, left bank of Koorrum, Bunnoo.—A good deal of firing last night, but chiefly by our sentries. The Irregular Cavalry very bad in this respect. If a mouse stirs within a mile off, they fire a volley as a warning. We are now at the extremity of Bunnoo and within a few miles of all the mountain tribes, whose livelihood to a great extent is plunder It would be odd indeed therefore if robbers did not prowl about a large camp like this nightly in search of plunder ; and if they cannot pick up anything they may be allowed the satisfaction of teasing the sentries so long as they keep at a safe distance. Last night, however, in spite of the fusilade, one of our *zumboorchee* sentries fell asleep with his head on a camel-saddle, and was suddenly awakened by a sharp sword cut aimed at his neck, but his hand being over his face received the blow which the Afghan did not stop to repeat.

The Sirdar's *Motbir* told me a long story about 3,000 Vizeerees being encamped on our last ground, all armed as if on a roving expedition. Sent two spies out to see if it was the case, resolving,

if it was, to beat them up. There proved to be not a soul there, but the villagers said a small party of from 50 to 100 had encamped there yesterday. In the evening rode out with General Cortlandt to discover a place for our next encampment; and came upon an extensive plain of dry ground on the bank of a flowing stream (another branch, I believe, of the inexhaustible and ubiquitous Koorrum), within three-fourths of a mile of a pass in the Khuttuk hills called Gomuttee. Pursuing our search we followed the course of the stream southwards till it again rejoined the Koorrum, where was another spot well suited for a camp, but not to compare with the plain before mentioned. The greater part of our ride was along the outside skirts of the cultivated lands of the Sooraunee *tuppahs,* between which and the hills which bound the valley of Bunnoo runs a belt of sand sprinkled with tamarisk trees, and which stretches all the way (I am told) to Lukkee. In short, it is now apparent that the Bunnoochees have for nearly 20 years succeeded in concealing from the Sikhs the natural approach to Bunnoo from the south, a secret doubly worth preserving, since it is at once their weakest point and their richest tract. No pen can describe the prodigal fertility of these Sooraunee *tuppahs.* The harvests literally cumber the ground, and approaching to ripeness can no longer support their hundredfold produce, but lean in heavy waves against each other. The high state of cultivation in which Bunnoo is found at this moment, in spite of the intestine quarrels which divide it, gives evidence of a more flourishing condition, more competence among the many and superfluity among the few than any part of the Punjab I have seen between here and Lahore. The impression left on my mind after traversing the three Doabs between the Ravee and the Attock was that they all bore marks of being racked and the people hard pressed (probably not by the regular demands of the Sirkar but by the irregular demands of perpetually changing revenue contractors). In Bunnoo, on the contrary, abundance runs to waste. Providence has blessed the valley with a supply of irrigation independent of the seasons, and industry consequently knows no disappointments. Occasionally a Sikh invasion has been equivalent to a year of drought, but such a thing as want seems unknown. Whichever way you look from this camp there is nothing to be seen for miles but standing corn: yet the owners of this noble harvest can afford to abandon it

to total destruction rather than pay a small percentage in the shape of revenue. Love of independence will induce men to make great sacrifices, but it will never induce a people to starve.

19th April 1847—Camp foot of the hills east of Bunnoo.—The same absurd random firing carried on all last night, the Irregulars as usual distinguishing themselves pre-eminently. About midnight it got so brisk that I really thought we had got an enemy at last, and taking a Havildar's party with me, I went out to the outlying pickets, where I found that in the low bed of the Koorrum, between a quarter and half a mile off, some roving vagabonds who did not dare come near enough to do any mischief were blazing away in our direction, and whenever the flash of their muskets revealed their position, our sentries returned six shots for one, a braggadocio war in which the Sirkar's magazine was the only sufferer. To put a stop to this, if possible, we have this morning moved to the plain which General Cortlandt and I found out last evening, only $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles from our last camp. Here all is open, and we can lay a trap for our midnight visitors.

On arriving at the ground, while the tents were being pitched, I reconnoitred the hills in front of us and the Gomuttee Pass, all barren and desolate. Even there, however, it appeared Vizeerees contrived to live, for about a dozen of them suddenly saluted us with a harmless volley from the crest of a hill under which we were passing and then set to dancing about in the air with drawn swords, throwing somersets, and performing all kinds of warlike dumb-show figurative of a desire to cut our throats, if we would go up for that purpose. These outside Bunnoo lands seem chiefly in the hands of the Vizeerees; and it will be a matter for the investigation of whoever comes here in the autumn to find out how they passed into the hands of that tribe. I have before mentioned that, with reference to the permanent occupation of Bunnoo by the Sikhs at the close of this year, I have thought it best not to decide hastily a matter of such importance. Were the Bunnochees to be left to themselves, it would be worth while to patch up an arrangement, however imperfectly, with their powerful neighbours.

On auditing the accounts this evening with Dewan Hookum Chund it appears that the sum total of revenue paid in by the Bunnoochees

up to 17th April, *i.e.*, in one month, amounts only to 31,724-1-0 rupees. This is exclusive, however, of corn cut in Bunnoo, the price of which is realized by Government from the consumers. Two or three thousand rupees have also since come in. I expect on the whole we shall collect about 45,000 rupees.

HERBERT B EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 21.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 20th and 21st April 1847.

20th April 1847—Camp eastern hills of Bunnoo.—The same childish fusilade again last night, a camel and a horse in camp the only wounded. General Cortlandt tells me the soldiers are again starving for want of money to buy food, and no signs of Dowlut Raie honouring the assignment made on him by the Durbar for their pay. The only plan is to send the regiments out into the ripe corn and let them collect enough for four or five days, but in four or five days we shall be out of Bunnoo and out of corn; and what are the men to eat then? Sirdar Shumshere Sing rode out with General Cortlandt to choose a spot for our camp to-morrow, and I meanwhile went round the camp to see if some better disposition could not be made of the pickets and sentries so as to keep off our midnight visitors. I was surprised to find two or three great gaps in our formation, and on inquiry found that the Irregular Cavalry had not occupied their proper face of the square, but had sneaked in behind the Infantry, thus escaping at once duty and danger. Ditto some of the *zumboorahs*. I pulled them all out and made them show a fair front in line with all the others, and throw out their own sentries, but they evidently think it a very hard case that they should be exposed to be shot at like common soldiers who don't get jageers.

21st April.—Not so much firing last night, still too much. The Vizeerees were rather baffled at finding our sentries so far out, but they brought down about 20 *juzails* and planting themselves in some graves across the *nullah* 500 or 600 yards off blazed away in volleys. They only hit one of our men in the leg, not a bad wound. This morning

we marched to the junction of the *nullah* (where we were yesterday) with the Koorrum, five miles of sandy soil but not very heavy, and quite a turnpike road compared with the one by which we entered Bunnoo. In spite of the reproof they got yesterday the whole of the Irregular Cavalry this morning left the rear of the camp open and burrowed in among the Infantry regiments. Their conduct is indeed becoming unmistakable. I turned them all out again and made them occupy the face marked out for them by General Cortlandt. Afterwards I wrote a letter to Sirdar Shumshere Sing on the subject and begged him to insist on the small Sirdars taking up the positions in camp marked out for them by the General who is responsible for the arrangements. It is preposterous to suppose that the Irregular Cavalry, who are so well paid and have so many privileges, are not to share at least the fatigues and dangers of the less fortunate Infantry. But from what I see of them I should say the whole system of this *khoollee fouj* is calculated to make them quite unserviceable when called into the field to act with regular troops. They are the private servants, escorts or body-guards of the Sirdar in whose *missul* they are, or on whose jageer they live, not royal Cavalry entering into the spirit of a national undertaking, consequently they do not combine. They are divided into sections of feeling by the jealousies or party views of their leaders, and nothing short of the enthusiasm or awe inspired by Runjeet Sing, could ever make a body of them unanimous in the work they were engaged upon. Their horses also are the property of their Sirdar and very chary the Sirdar is of them. It is not in the nature of things that he should be otherwise. The 100 or 200 horses on which his men ride are no longer machines to enable him to come up with the enemy. They are so much money afloat and he takes care to remove it as quickly as possible out of danger. Even Sirdar Shumshere Sing, who strikes me as having plenty of spirit, objected last evening to General Cortlandt's proposed plan of to-day's encampment, because it put his sowars on a flank and said he "We shall get our horses shot perhaps!" That such a miserable idea should cross the mind of a commander is, I think, sufficient evidence of the evil of the system and this is independent of the insubordination which these *missuls* must bring into an army. In our service an irregular horseman regards his C. O. as in every way subordinate to the Brigadier or General, and it would be a rash experiment for the C. O. to disobey orders. But in the Sikh Irregular Cavalry I suspect

there are few horsemen who would not obey their own Sirdar sooner than Utter Sing, Kallahwallah, who commands the whole Cavalry force. I have been told that it was in this way that Sirdar Hurree Sing was deserted at Jumrodh and killed.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 22.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 22nd to the 24th April 1847.

22nd April 1847—Camp Jhundoo Kheyl Tuppah, Bunnoo.—No firing last night on either side. We have left the lands held by the Oomerzye Vizeerees (the people who fired at me in the mouth of the Gomuttee Pass on the morning of the 9th) and are now amongst those contended for by Sher Must Khan, Bunnoochee, and Swahn Khan, Vizeeree. The former is a prisoner, and the latter a guest, in our camp, so that we have good security for the peace being kept. This Swahn Khan is a more sterling man, both in point of natural character and social position, than any one of the Bunnoo Chiefs. He is the Mullick of 12,000 Vizeerees who lead a half pastoral, half predatory, life upon this north-east frontier of Bunnoo. There they cultivate the fields which the Bunnoochees have either ceded, or sold at a nominal price, to purchase immunity from plunder, and hundreds of their gipsy-like encampments are now scattered along the foot of these hills. A reed mat propped up in the middle by two sticks in the shape of a T, and with its four sides draggling on the ground, constitutes the home of one of these hardy families. Under this, at night, men, women, and children huddle together while the rough muzzle of a hill sheep dog peeps out at one corner, and keeps watch over the donkeys, cows, goats, and fat-tailed sheep which are picketed and penned outside. By day the men drive out the flocks to feed, and the women stay at home to rub out corn, the sticks which held up the mats being knocked away, so as to let the whole fall to the ground (from which at a distance it is hardly to be distinguished). The men wear brown camel's hair cloaks and the women dark indigo-blue petticoats and hoods. The former are powerfully built, and have a wild and savage appearance; the latter are tall and bold. I have seen them run like deer to the herds which their husbands had deserted at the approach of

one of our parties, and take up their stand in an attitude of defence. But probably it is well understood among them that a few helpless women are a better protection to the flock than a score of well-armed men. Whoever comes here next October to permanently settle Bunnoo will, I think, find it a better policy to establish Swahn Khan as a ryot, on equitable terms, than to rout him out and drive him away as a robber and an enemy. In the one case he would unite with the authorities to keep the peace of the frontier; in the other with his countrymen to disturb it.

Called on Sirdar Shumshere Sing and talked over arrangements for returning to Lahore. The Sirdar wishes to go with me *viâ* Tak and Dera Ismail Khan; and as the Durbar, in a *purwannah* yesterday received, leave it to me, I have no objection to make. On the contrary, I shall be glad of his company.

Desired Dewan Hookum Chund to have the accounts ready to be closed at Lukkee, and prepare a table, on a plan which I gave him, to show at one glance how much has been paid, and how much has not been paid, by every *tuppah* in Bunnoo. This will be a useful document to the officer who comes here in October. Pohoo Mull (Dewan Dowlut Raie's *Motbir*) does not report the fort of Esau Kheyl in very good repair, so it will be as well only to send a third of our magazine stores there and leave two-thirds at Lukkee. I shall speak also to Dowlut Raie about repairing Esau Kheyl, which he is bound to do. Baboo Pandah has sent the remainder of his regimental camels to Sirdar Shumshere Sing, and has replied to my enquiries by a flat denial of the reported misconduct of his men. The circumstance of the camels not coming before remains however unexplained.

23rd April 1847.—Marched six miles to the fort of Jhundoo Kheyl on left bank of the Koorrum. The whole of this march was over arable but uncultivated ground, owing to disputes between the Vizeerees and Bunnoochees about the irrigation. I find that Mullick Swahn Khan's acquisitions of territory have been chiefly by way of retaliation; such retaliation as the stronger generally exacts from the weaker party. He never takes blood for blood if he can help it, though this is the custom of the country. He has fixed a price upon a Vizeeree's life, *viz.*, Rs. 1,200, and if cash is not forthcoming, he seizes what he calls an equivalent in land, *viz.*, as much as takes 160 maunds of seed. At this rate the

extermination of his 12,000 followers would leave him sole proprietor of Bunnoo. A very heavy storm of dust in the evening, ending in rain, which poured all night; this will be a great blessing to Murwut. Sirdar Shumshere Sing, Dewan Hookum Chund, etc., called to offer congratulatory *sirwarnahs* on my escape alive from a bad fall I got from my horse last evening while going to visit the pickets. They request that in future I will tie a charm round my horse's neck, and are rather shocked at my doubting whether this would enable the animal to leap better over a double ditch. This is a great country for *taweezes*. Hardly a man but has a dozen about his neck, arms, and turban. Hyatoollah Khan of Tank has been subject for some time to fever and ague every third day. I proposed to give him some quinine, to which he agreed, but a Fukeer stepped in in the *interim* and gave him a *taweez*, which he assures me has now put off the fever for a fortnight. He is now on the lookout for another Fukeer, and another *taweez*, which he says will finish the cure.

24th April 1847—Camp Jhundoo Kheyl, Bunnoo.—All the tents soaking wet and ground like a marsh. Marching impossible. Put off the march till noon, when rain again put it off till to-morrow. This being the boundary of Swahn Khan Vizeer's grounds, he wishes for his *rookhsut*, and Sirdar Shumshere Sing has given him a *khilut* in return for sundry little services he has rendered since he has been in camp—reclaiming lost camels, mules, etc., and giving information. I shall part with him with regret, for during the month that he has been my guest, I have seen much to admire and respect, little to condemn, and nothing to despise in him—a character which I could not give any other man in Bunnoo. Pohoo Mull has just informed me that 6,000 rupees are on the road from Dera Ismail Khan, for the pay of this force—an instalment of 65,000 rupees due six weeks ago from his master, Dowlut Raie.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 23.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 25th and 26th April 1847

25th April 1847—Camp Jhundoo Kheyl, Bunnoo.—Rain all night and all this morning. When we encamped here the bed of the Koorrum

was almost dry; now it is a stream three-fourths of a mile in breadth, and running in great turbulent waves like the sea. At noon the water was still a foot from the top of the bank, and a short pause in the rain exhibited hopes that the river would subside. But soon the rain came on again heavier than ever, and about 3 P.M. the Koorrum overflowed and rushed in torrents through the camp. The soldiers were driven out of their tents, and fled pell-mell towards the neighbouring village of Jhundoo Kheyl, which is on a small hill. The Artillery horses which had been kept harnessed were put to the guns and commenced retreating, but the continued rain of the last two nights and nearly two days had so soaked the ground that it was almost a quicksand; and in the first rush four guns were obliged to be abandoned half buried in mud. The river not rising any farther we got all the soldiers back from the village; and from that time till night every hand was employed in pulling and hauling, at guns, tumbrils, magazine hackeries, tents, etc., etc. The men worked most manfully and cheerfully, laughing at their own disasters, and showing an attachment to their guns which alone could have accomplished their rescue. The scene of confusion reminded me strongly of the carried camp at Sobraon, but fortunately we had no loss of life to complete the resemblance. By night almost everything was brought away; and the men huddled the best way they could about the walls of Jhundoo Kheyl. As an equivalent for "something to drink" after their fatigues I gave Rs. 355 to General Cortlandt to serve out *meethaie* and *goor* as follows:—

		Rs.
5 Infantry Regiments, Rs. 50 each ...	...	250
2 Troops Horse Artillery, Rs. 30 each	...	60
3 Troops Regular Cavalry ...	..	20
3 *Zumboorkhanahs*	...	15
Sappers and Miners	...	10
Total	...	355

This put all in good humour again, and as no more rain fell the night passed over better than could have been expected.

The natives never remember the Koorrum rising so high even in the rains, and find an easy solution of the phenomenon in superstition. In the centre of the dry stony bed of the river when we arrived and

encamped at Jhundoo Kheyl there rose a small mound, on which stood the tomb of some Mussulman Fukeer. From the top of the tomb fluttered a little flag. One of the Sikh soldiers in search of firewood fixed his sacrilegious eye upon the flagstaff and carried it away. A few hours afterwards the rain commenced, the river rose, the guardian waters (called upon by the ghost of the Fukeer) encircled the precious mound and made an island of it, and at last, in the crisis of the storm, deluged the camp of the infidel Sikhs! A Bunnoochee, excited with this idea, thought to appease the offended *manes* of the Fukeer, by carrying out another flag, and plunged boldly into the flood. To his great astonishment the Mahomedan waves (*sic*) paid not the slightest attention to him, but, treating him the same as the unbelievers, washed him away at the rate of 20 miles an hour; and he was only saved by some compassionate Sikh soldiers who threw a rope to him at a turning of the river. Had this flood come upon us in the night, the consequences would have been serious; or had we been on the other side of the river, among the irrigated lands, not a gun, or cart, would have been moved.

26th April 1847—Camp Jhundoo Kheyl, Bunnoo.—All quiet during the night, and a fine sunshiny morning, but marching out of the question. All the tents are dripping wet and ten times their usual weight, and the surrounding country like a quicksand. If it remains fine to-day everything will get dry, and the roads be passable to-morrow, when we shall go half way to Lukkee.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 24.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 27th to the 29th April 1847.

27th April 1847.—It was intended to go half way to Lukkee this morning (about 7 *koss*), but the flood of the 25th had so saturated the ground that the guns stuck in coming out of camp, and so much time was lost in extricating them that we were obliged to shorten the march to 5½ miles, and encamped once more on the bank of the Koorrum. Clouds gathered round in the evening, and it rained pretty heavily during the night, but we marched next morning (28th April) 15 miles

to the villages of Michun Kheyl in Murwut, on the bank of the Koorrum and five miles from Lukkee. We intended to have gone all the way to Lukkee, but could not manage it; and as it was, the guns came in very late in the day, and the hackeries did not reach camp at all, but bivouacked with the rear guard. On the road I looked out for sites for a chain of round towers to keep open the communication next year between the forts of Lukkee and Bunnoo; and fixed upon two very eligible spots, high sandy ridges commanding extensive views along the road on either side. (I shall take occasion to designate them more particularly in a public letter.) In the evening General Cortlandt called on me to report that, unless some immediate relief could be given to the soldiers in the shape of money or food, many of them must die of starvation, as they had exhausted the corn which I allowed them to cut in Bunnoo, and were now quite destitute. They are all so in debt to the Buniyahs that they can get no more credit; and the small supply of *atta* which the Buniyahs have with them is selling in camp at six seers for the rupee. (This is in consequence of the artificial scarcity created by the Bunnoochees, who prevent the Hindoos from bringing supplies into the Sikh camp as soon as it begins to retire.) The officers of the different regiments have, I understand, done all in their power to assist their men, even pawning their bracelets and gold ornaments; but this goes but a small way among a regiment. To relieve immediate wants I requested the Sirdar to give 7,000 rupees to General Cortlandt, and cause one rupee to be given to each man; and as it is now 28 days since I spoke seriously to Dewan Dowlut Raie on this subject, and peremptorily ordered him to comply with the Durbar's orders and furnish the 65,000 rupees (*then* long overdue) for the pay of this force; as he then promised me faithfully to raise the money, and has not done so; and as I have almost daily since been urging payment on him and his *Motbir* without any effect—I think the troops would have just cause to complain if favor is any longer shown the Dewan at their expense, and have accordingly advised the Sirdar to direct Dewan Gunput Raie, who is stationed at Lukkee, to despatch to-morrow morning by daylight a *dustuk* of 50 sowars under a respectable officer, who will proceed with all despatch to Dera Ismael Khan and receive from Dowlut Raie a daily allowance of one rupee each man and 5 rupees the Commandant, until such time as the Dewan has fully honored the Sirkar's

assignment. I felt it the more incumbent upon me to take this step that I consider Dowlut Raie to have deliberately taken advantage of the presence of a British officer with this force and the personal immunity which British influence secures him from the soldiers. A year ago he would not have dared to withhold the pay of 5,000 Khalsa soldiers stationed in his *ilakah*. His father, Dewan Lukkee Mull, was once bold enough to try the experiment in Esau Kheyl and got a fright which lasted him for life. The patience and fortitude of the regiments with this force, under the privations imposed on them, excites both pity and admiration.

29th April 1847—Camp Lukkee.—This morning we marched here from Michun Kheyl, five miles. The Koorrum is very high again, and some doubts were entertained as to our being able to cross, but I have not heard of any accident having occurred. The Michun Kheyl district differs from the rest of Murwut in being irrigated from the Koorrum, whose annual floods have deposited a rich surface of soil on the original bed of sand. On arriving at Lukkee I was surprised to find the walls of the new cantonment raised as high as a man's head almost all round. The Sapper company has worked most manfully; and if Dowlut Raie's people had been as active during the six weeks which have elapsed since we were here last, the reservoir of water in the fort would long ago have been lined with masonry, the walls raised, the ditch deepened, etc., etc. As it is, hardly anything has been done. A *raj mistree* has arrived from Dera Ismael Khan, and the tank has been scraped a little deeper, ditto some part of the ditch, and that is all. I see many more Rohilla soldiers, however, in the fort than there used to be, and this is an improvement. The town of Lukkee likewise has repaired the greatest part of its disasters, all the houses are roofed in again, and business once more proceeding. Several of the Buniyahs came round me in the street and petitioned me to get them back the property which the Murwutees plundered from them in the insurrection, and which they say is still in the possession of certain Mullicks. This is a difficult thing to do. To order the Kardar to cause restitution would be to give him "a letter of marque" to rob the Murwutees, and pay off old scores. On the other hand justice should be done to the Hindoos. Pohoo Mull, to save his master Dowlut Raie from the *dustuk* I ordered last night, has this morning produced a very strange *purwannah* from Lahore addressed to Sirdar Shumshere Sing, and dated 22nd *Cheyt* (2nd April), but which

has never reached the Sirdar till now, having been sent by the Durbar to Dowlut Raie, apparently, to make use of only in extremity. It tells the Sirdar "to realise the 65,000 rupees for which an assignment has been give him on Dewan Dowlut Raie, at the close of the month *Bysakh*," which would be about the 10th or 12th May. Yet the assignment is expressly stated to be on the proceeds of the last *Khurreef* harvest; and this force is now five months in arrears! But the extraordinary part of the business is this—that the Durbar should openly order Dowlut Raie to pay the money without delay, and Sirdar Shumshere Sing to get it from him with all despatch, and distribute it to the troops, and secretly encourage Dowlut Raie to resist all the Sirdar's applications. The *purwannahs* which have come by the regular channel to the Sirdar are as follows:—

30th Cheyt (10th April).—"What you write about endeavouring to get the money from Dowlut Raie is quite right. Do so with as much despatch as is consistent with the respect due to him, and distribute it to the force."

4th Bysakh (14th April).—"Get the money from Dewan Dowlut Raie"

10th Bysakh (20th April)—"Get the money with all haste from Dewan Dowlut Raie and distribute it to the troops." Under these conflicting circumstances, I think it is fair to act upon the latest order of the Durbar, and shall not recall the *dustuk*, which experience shows is the only way to "get the money with all haste from Dewan Dowlut Raie." Being much pleased with the exertions of the Sappers and Miners during our trip through Bunnoo, and the alacrity they have shown in building the cantonment for the regiment at Lukkee, I have sent General Cortlandt the sum of Rs. 176-8 to be distributed among the two companies as follows:—

		Rs.	a.	p.
2 Subadars, Rs. 3 each	...	6	0	0
2 Jemadars, Rs. 2 each	...	4	0	0
9 Sergeants, Re. 1-8 each	...	13	8	0
2 Foorrias, Re. 1-4 each	...	2	8	0
6 Naiks, Re. 1-4 each	...	7	8	0
134 Sappers, Re. 1 each	...	134	0	0
Carried over	...	167	8	0

		Rs.	a.	p.
	Brought forward ...	167	8	0
	1 Moonshee, Rs. 3	3	0	0
	4 Langurees, As. 12 each ...	3	0	0
	4 Mashuckees, As. 12 each ...	3	0	0
Total men 164	Total ...	176	8	0

N.B.—These companies are now below their strength, and General Cortlandt has no authority to fill up vacancies. If Colonel Lawrence approves of the companies being kept up a word to the Durbar would procure the necessary order. There is one deficiency also in them which it would be well to rectify, *viz.*, 200 men (full strength of two companies) who are always working with iron tools, have no blacksmith attached to them! A *Lohar* and a mate should belong to each company.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 25.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 30th April to the 4th May 1847.

30th April, 1st, 2nd and 3rd May 1847—Camp Lukkee in Murwut.—These four days have passed in a turmoil which rendered it impossible to keep any regular diary. On arrival at Lukkee it appeared that Dewan Dowlut Raie and his officers, in spite of orders, had not laid in a single grain of corn for the Lukkee garrison; wood, and every other necessary in the same way. No place had been prepared in the fort for the magazine; no poles, grass, or reeds collected for the huts of the sepoys in the new cantonment. In short, it was clear that the Dewan had calculated on the arrangement being given up in despair. When I passed through here in March, and recommended the strengthening of so advanced a post, it never entered into my thoughts that the Dewan would be otherwise than grateful for such assistance, but I find I was mistaken. His *Motbir*, Pohoo Mull, said one morning to General Cortlandt: "What is the use of making all this fuss about Murwut and the fort of Lukkee? Leave them to themselves. Let the Afghans enjoy their insurrections,

What do they matter? A few people are killed; and if the siege is very warm, the garrison run away, and let the rebels do their worst. It is only a mud fort, and they can only burn the door-posts! Then when things get a little quiet, the garrison goes back again, mends the doors, and *punishes the people*. Now you have made a strong fort of it; the garrison can't run away. They must stop here and take care of the guns which you have tied round their necks!" This is a libel both on the garrison and the Dewan. The former behaved with great gallantry during the late siege, and the latter betrayed anything but indifference to the fate of the post; for he hurried up from Dera and saved it. But the truth is that the Dewan does not like this introduction of the Sirkar's troops in his *ilakah*. He likes to have this side of the Indus to himself to mismanage, squeeze and oppress, without any disinterested parties being here to witness and report his proceedings. For my own part I can only characterise his government, from my own observation of it in Murwut, as a reckless system of plunder, without any reference to either revenue or right. One would have thought that after all the warnings he has had lately, and the remodelling of the settlement for the express purpose of relieving the people of Murwut from an odious tax, he would have seen the necessity of, at all events, suspending his old practices till my departure. But even this was too much self-denial. It will be remembered what trouble there was at the commencement of this expedition to break in the Cavalry to paying for their forage. At last, all hands got into the way of it, and though cutting the zumindar's corn was unavoidable, the price was regularly collected, and paid to a Moonshee of Dewan Dowlut Raie's for distribution among the owners. On my return here I was greeted by a crowd of petitioners who implored me to make Dewan Gunput Raie's and Colonel Jodh Sing's sowars pay for the corn they had cut. Both those Commanding Officers sent me the receipts of Dowlut Raie's Moonshee for the amount. I sent for the Moonshee. He declared that another Moonshee who had gone with the Dewan had carried off half the money, and therefore he had been unable to distribute the rest! I ordered him to satisfy the zumindars or I would confine him. He promised to do so, but did not. I put him in irons, and then he gave all the zumindars receipts to be deducted out of their spring revenue. I afterwards heard from the natives in the camp that three or four of the Dewan's Moonshees had divided this spoil

among themselves, and it is very credible. I mention this incident to show the animus which pervades the administration of Murwut. Here is another. When the new settlement was being made and all the grievances of the old one were being overhauled, one of the great complaints of the zumindars was that the Dewan's Lukkee garrison literally lived at their expense. All the year round, on some frivolous pretence or other, a sepoy here and a sowar there was quartered upon them, each drawing handsome rations during his stay. It was agreed to do away with this abuse, and no sepoy from the garrison was to draw rations from any village unless sent there to collect *arrears* of revenue. Yet complaints were made on this subject also. I could not believe it, for I thought common prudence would induce the Kardar to forego this imposition until my back was turned on the Indus. At last, in a full conclave of zumindars collected in my tent, when Pohoo Mull had been eloquently asserting the perfect impossibility of any one taking rations after the strict injunction in the new settlement, a zumindar stood up and produced a little scrap of paper which he requested me to read. It proved to be an assignment on a certain village, for the sum of 25 rupees, pay due to a Rohilla soldier in the Lukkee garrison, which the zumindar was ordered to discharge, and it should be deducted in his spring revenue account. This was all that I could see in the Persian document and I laid it down, merely remarking on the sharp practice of Dewan Dowlut Raie, who thus calls on his tenants to pay their revenue in advance, but refuses himself to honor the Durbar's assignment on his last *khurreef* crop. The zumindar was evidently disappointed at the result of the investigation, when a Hindoo in the crowd made signs to read the paper again and General Cortlandt drew my attention then to some small hieroglyphics in one corner, which proved to be an order in crabbed Hindee to give the sepoy two pice a day and one seer of *atta* as long as he remained at the village, which order the zumindar had complied with, but come to appeal against the violation of the agreement. A long investigation ensued; for I was determined to bring the matter home, and at last the Revenue Collector of Murwut, one Trilok Chund, confessed that he wrote the order, which he could not defend. I inquired what his pay was from the Dewan? Answer: 17 rupees a month! Yet this man is sent to collect 80,000 rupees. I fined him 200 rupees and made him over to General Cortlandt to be confined till he pays the

amount. I would have removed him, but was afraid the Dewan might say I had embarrassed his Murwut affairs.

I have since heard that similar papers are to be found in every village, and it only shows how hopeless is the attempt to redress the grievances of Murwut, while the source of them remains.

A good deal was done towards the improvement and strengthening of the fort during these four days, the whole of the Sappers and Miners being set to work to enlarge two bastions intended to receive the guns, clearing out the tank and making bricks for the erection of a new magazine.

Two-thirds of the magazine stores of the regiments were deposited in a gateway of the fort for the present, the other third goes to Esau Kheyl. Bhaiah Buddun, Hazarah, takes charge of the Lukkee stores and Bhaiah Soormukh Sing of those at Esau Kheyl. The Horse battery going to Dera Ismael Khan takes half its magazine with it, in case of Lukkee being again besieged, and a necessity arising for this battery to come to its relief. General Cortlandt and the Infantry will remain another week at Lukkee, to complete the fort arrangements; and I have ordered Pohoo Mull to stay with him, and not return to Dera Ismael Khan till three months' provisions have been stored for the garrison.

Sirdars Soorjun Sing, Kripal Sing, Shumshere Sing, Mareewalah, and Runjore Sing, Sindhanwalah, have returned to Lahore with the Irregular Sowars of their respective *missuls*, and received injunctions to restrain their men from plundering on the road. Colonel Jodh Sing and his regiment of Cavalry have started for Peshawur. I had some trouble with them at first about making them pay for forage; but they behaved very well since, and are a good regiment, worth twice their number of the Irregulars. Jodh Sing means well, but is past his work, and deaf as a post.

Though the Mussulman regiment, which remains at Lukkee, has a cantonment of its own, I thought it advisable to put one company into the fort, both to take care of the magazine, and to give the regiment the *entrée* whenever necessary; for often petty jealousies spring up between a Thannadar and a Colonel, and General Cortlandt was telling

me an instance the other day, in which he himself was shut out of a fort when he would much rather have been in it.

The men and officers with the two heavy guns (of the company belonging to the son of Sooltan Mahmood) left behind at Lukkee, petitioned to have the other two guns brought over here from Dera, as the separation disturbs the internal economy and limited establishment of the company. I will see about it at Dera, and think it will be as well perhaps.

Sher Must Khan, Kazee Mohummud Kassim, and all the other Bunnoo prisoners except three have been released. The three detained are the son of Dillassah Khan, the son of Bazeed Khan, and a nephew of Mooseh Khan: all aggravated cases which I do not think it would be right to pass over. They had better not be left at Lukkee as it might tempt the Bunnoochees to join the Murwutees in another attempt on the fort. At Dera they will be out of harm's way, and I will give particular orders to Dowlut Raie to treat them well. Dillassah Khan has written me a very insolent epistle to the effect "that he is a very great man in his own estimation, and does not think he was sufficiently appreciated by me; that he paid me the compliment of coming in, which he had never done to anybody before, and that all the return he got for it was being asked to pay his revenue; that the immediate cause of his sudden flight was Sirdar Shumshere Sing's visit to his fort, which his neighbours told him was preparatory to an attack; lastly, that if I think he will ever pay revenue, I am much mistaken, as he has never done so, and never will." I am sorry the old man should have written this braggart letter, but am glad that he has told us why he ran away. I informed Sher Must Khan, on his release, that neither he nor the other Chiefs need fear any vindictive proceedings from the Sikh Government in consequence of their misconduct, individually, but that collectively they and the valley which they represent will certainly be punished by having to defray the expenses of both this and the autumn expedition. I hear that Bunnoo is already in an uproar, the runaways having returned and accused those who remained in their houses of saving their own crops at the expense of their absent friends. Several forts are now in a state of siege. Even a Sikh Kardar will be a blessing to these people.

Dewan Dowlut Raie has sent 10,000 rupees more in cash; and 18,000 rupees in hoondees on Lahore! This in liquidation of a draft from Lahore, to feed a hungry force at Lukkee.

The Bunnoo accounts are closed, and the Sirkar's receipt, after payment of all percentage, etc., etc., to the Chiefs, stand thus:—

	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
Cash	35,003 11 9	Arrears which were due ...	1,30,000 0 0
Camels, Horses, etc. ...	9,278 4 0	Of which was realised— Cash Rs. 35,003-11-9; In kind Rs. 9,278-4-0; Allowed to the Chiefs in percentage, daily allowance, etc. 4,963-4-0	49,245 3 9
Corn cut and sold in the camp; but not *deducted in the Revenue.*	7,940 2 0		
Total cleared ...	52,222 1 9	Balance due ...	80,754 12 3

4th May 1847.—Sirdar Shumshere Sing, Dewan Gunput Raie, Dewan Devee Sahaie (with 600 Ghorchurras), Dewan Hookum Chund, and I marched from Lukkee this morning towards Tank, and went $14\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the village of Teetur Kheyl. The Battery which is to stay at Dera is with us, and two companies of the regiment which remains at Lukkee. These two companies are in charge of the Bunnoo prisoners and accompanying the guns. They will take back with them to Lukkee the other 2 guns of Sooltan Mahmood's son.

A more complete contrast than is afforded by the countries on the left and right banks of the Goombeelah it is impossible to conceive: Bunnoo all vegetation; Murwut all sand. The unusually heavy rain, however, which has fallen during the last few days has come quite like a Godsend to Murwut; and the people are now busy ploughing and sowing their *bajrah* for the autumn harvest.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

P.S.—This morning a very timely supply of 50,000 rupees was announced on its way from Mooltan. This will make the men comfortable again.

No. 26.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 5th to the 9th May 1847.

5th May 1847.—From Teetur Kheyl in Murwut to the Peyzoo Pass, which unites Murwut with Tank, is seven *koss*, a sufficient march for the

magazine hackeries of the Artillery; but as even straw is hardly procurable there, and water only by digging, it was determined to push on the Cavalry, Artillery, etc., to Koondee in Tank. Accordingly we marched to Koondee this morning and found the distance to be 24 miles. The hackeries, escorted by 200 sowars, a company of Infantry, and ten *Zumboorahs*, have halted at Peyzoo; and it is now thought better for them to proceed by the straight road to Dera Ismail Khan, instead of following our detour by Tank. The Peyzoo Pass is about three miles long, and varies in width from five yards to 50. There are a few hundred yards of stones at the upper or Murwut end; but in general it is an excellent Artillery road,—broad, smooth, and singularly gradual in its slope. It is at the lower end of the pass that water is procured by scraping up the sand. There are said to be four other passes from Tank to Murwut, *viz.*, the Kutlar, the Siggee, the Byhue, and the Tubbee, of which the first may be just practicable for Artillery; but the other three for horses and camels only. The Tubbee is the most difficult; the Siggee, and Byhue nearest to Bunnoo. Natives going from Tank to Bunnoo go through one or other of the latter passes; and leaving Lukkee well to the right enter Bunnoo about Kukkee. After crossing the Peyzoo Pass and emerging into Tank, the Koondee district, which there commences, disappoints sadly the expectations of the traveller, who has been told that Tank resembles Bunnoo in its irrigation and fertility. The soil is exactly like that of Murwut; and it is not until after some miles that it begins to harden into clay. A hill stream called "the Suheylee" runs by Koondee, and its waters are reckoned the sweetest in Tank; but I could not perceive that they irrigated the fields around. Indeed a more wretched place I never beheld than Koondee. It has two mud forts (like the enclosures of Bunnoo), one honored with the title of new, but both tumble-down affairs. The huts of the village are all constructed of twigs, thorns and reeds, with more attention to ventilation than to weather-proof. Two of the exiled Mullicks of Koondee are, with Shah Niwaz Khan of Khutty Kheyl, in my camp and are only two out of many exiles from this once flourishing place who have been driven from their homes by the vicissitudes of the Tank Government. There are some tamarisk trees thickly shading the banks of a little *nullah* near the village, which afforded us a welcome shelter from the sun. The natives of Koondee remember Major Mackeson passing this way *en route* to Peshawur, and enlisting men. They speak kindly of

him, and call him "Mai Kishen"; though one man insisted his name was Kishen Doss. Here I had some conversation with two Povindeeahs (the commercial travellers of the north-west). They complain bitterly of the Punjab customs, and particularly of the keenness with which Dewan Dowlut Raie collects his share of them. He puts a tax of three rupees on every camel-load coming from Cabul, and ten rupees a load on all merchandize going to Cabul. Besides this he makes the Povindeeahs pay six annas a head for each camel that grazes in the Damun during the winter, and takes the census of the herd after a fashion of his own. I had the curiosity to compare the prices paid by these people in Cabul with those generally realised for the same articles in Lahore, and the following list shows the evil effect of imposts upon trade:—

Goods brought from Afghanistan.	Price in Afghanistan.	Ditto in Lahore.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs.
Munjeet (Red dye from Mookkur near Khilat-i-Ghilzie).	9 0 0 a maund.	20
Almonds (Khilat-i-Ghilzie)	6 0 0 ditto.	17
Zeerub (Kandahar)	8 0 0 ditto.	10
Raisins (Ditto)	2 4 0 ditto.	7
Abjosh (A kind of raisin much used in medicinal preparations and brought from Kandahar also).	2 0 0 ditto.	10
Figs (Ditto ditto)	1 4 0 ditto.	7

This year the Povindeeahs say every article brought from Cabul was sold at a loss, except Munjeet. Cloths, chintzes, coverlets, khinkhwab, etc., etc., are the wares they carry back in exchange. They go about this time of the year to Cabul *viâ* Tank and the Goleyree Pass, and can only go in large bodies of 2,000 or 3,000, as they have to fight their own way.

A short shower of rain at night.

6th May 1847.—Marched to Tank, 15 miles. Approaching Tank the country begins to be sprinkled with *Sheeshum* trees, once so numerous that in Sirwur Khan's time you approached the city through a shady wood extending for three *koss.* The present Jageerdars have felled the majority of them and sold them at Dera to make boats. Sirwur Khan

had a great passion for trees, and expended large sums in bringing different kinds from north, east, west, and south, so that they say there was no tree or flower which the east produces of which a specimen was not to be found in his vast groves and gardens. The only remnant of these tasteful pleasure grounds is a dense thicket of date trees, which happily produce more money by being allowed to flourish. The extensive gardens which ran round two sides of the fort and city are now overgrown with weeds; and the designs of their vistas, and their alleys, their *murdanas* and *zananas* are scarcely distinguishable. This does not apply only to the embellishments, but also to the streets, the buildings and the trade of the city of Tank. All are either decaying or decayed; and the decline of prosperity is the more strongly marked by having been the work only of a few years. Time has not yet effaced the traces of its existence. The garden walls, enclosing acres of neglected beds and walks, show where the fruits and flowers blossomed; and the empty shops of the city, the closed doors, and rusty padlocks attract attention to the absence of the former tenants, and the traffic which they carried on. I never heard any Eastern sovereign lamented with the same sincerity as Sirwur Khan of Tank. Masson, who stayed some days here, and paints in glowing colours the beauty of the gardens, describes the lord of them as a mere debauchee, but he must have been more than that, or he would never have created in the desert the very paradise which that inconsistent traveller describes. Neither would he have become the traditionary standard of a good king among the next generation of the Tank people. I was curious to learn what system of revenue was enforced by so popular a ruler, and was surprised to find that he took one-third of the produce of the soil, besides a capitation tax which yielded him Rs. 4,000. These, however, were the only items of his revenue. The present Jageerdars have gradually raised the one-third to very little short of one-half the produce of the soil, continue the capitation tax, and actually impose another tax of two annas a maund on the half of the produce left with the zumindars. The successive Kardars who have held Tank since its appropriation by Konwur Nao Nihal Sing,—Lukkee Mull, the Mooltanee Khans, Futteh Khan, Towanah, and the Mooltanee Khans again,—seem all to have regarded this fine province in the light of a rich prize abandoned to them rather than of a trust given them by a sovereign who would call them to account. Hence its decayed condition. There are now in the city of Tank said

to be only 60 shops occupied, and Hindoos and Mussulmen together only 300 families; whereas in the remote days of Kuttal Khan, the father of Sirwur Khan, and founder of the place, there were 100 Khutree's shops and about 1,000 families of Hindoos and Mussulmen, a population and trade which Sirwur Khan very greatly increased. One of the standards by which this warlike people measure their own decline is the number of their horsemen. When Sirwur Khan took the field to fight with the Vizeerees for the water, 400 well mounted and appointed zumindars of their own accord used to join his standard. Now they say they have hardly a horse left for the Chief of each village to ride round the boundary.

The fort of Tank was built by Sirwur Khan, and is an immense pile of mud about 250 yards square, surrounded by a ditch about 15 feet wide and 20 deep. (It is now dry, but water can be let into it.) On one side it is joined on to the city, which is again walled in with a high mud, loopholed wall; another side is blocked up with the date tree grove; and the ruined gardens close round the other two sides. Altogether it is constructed in defiance of all the principles laid down by Europeans; and apparently contrived to give cover to an approaching enemy from every quarter. The very sight of such a fortification, however, is quite sufficient to frighten away any irregular native army.

7th May 1847—Camp Tank.—Went up on the high bastions of the fort to survey the country round, and seeing a mound in the distance exactly resembling the one at Akra in Bunnoo, I rode out to see it. It is, I am told, one of five which lie along the northern border of Tank, and it is covered with the same evidences of having been the site of a former city, as the one in Bunnoo; but I could not find out that any coins had been picked up there. The hill is now a rendezvous for the Povindeeahs, previous to entering the hills and commencing their dangerous journey.

Heard to-day that Dewan Dowlut Raie is very sensitive about the *dustuk* sent to hurry his payment of the 65,000 rupees, and fears the bankers will not advance him money as they will conclude that he is to be recalled. On these grounds he requests Sirdar Shumshere Sing to get me to countermand the *dustuk*. I replied that the Dewan's dignity was in his own keeping. As soon as he pays the money, the *dustuk* will retire. He should have thought of these things before he

undertook to starve 5,000 men. About 50 wild fellows of the Buttunye tribe, on the north-west border of Tank, armed to the teeth, and headed by a most independent Mullick, came to pay their respects as they said, but in reality I fancy to see if any expedition was on foot against themselves. I asked them what revenue they paid to the Tank Jageerdars, and they drily answered that "the Khans were very good-natured, and took nothing from them!" These people and the Vizeerees were kept down by Sirwur Khan, who followed them into their own hills, and inflicted punishment on them at all cost, whenever they broke the peace; but none of his successors have been equally vigorous; and the consequence is that great tracts of land which were irrigated in Sirwur Khan's time are now thrown out of cultivation.

8th May 1847.—Marched to Huttalee, 17¾ miles: two mud villages with two tanks, full of muddy water. About a mile from the villages runs the Gomul, and we pitched our camp as near to it as its treacherous banks would allow. Both sides of this stream are a shoal of quicksand, very difficult, and dangerous to cross. The *Punch* of the village of Bhuchur-ke-Wahn in Kuchee have once more come to make me arbiter between them and Doonnee Chund; and Doonnee Chund has sent his Vukeel to plead his side of the case. Kuchee would find employment for a judge of appeal without any difficulty; and I think one of the first acts of the judge would be to remove Doonnee Chund, who is at once Kardar and defendant in all suits. The grievance now is that when Doonnee Chund first came in February to the *ilakah* he quartered a party of sowars upon the village of Bhuchur-ke-Wahn, to make them pay revenue; but the unhappy Bhuchurs were at that time in the very thick of their feud with the Peepul district; all agriculture was at a standstill; their very wives and flocks were all in the hills; and the villagers were night and day on their watch to prevent surprise. They answered Doonnee Chund's call for revenue by counter-calls for justice and protection; and Doonnee Chund contented himself by calling them rebels and sending more sowars. In this state it will be remembered I found the matter, took it up, and settled both quarrels of the Bhuchurs—that with Peepul and that with Doonnee Chund. But the latter foolish personage must needs harp upon the old discord, and, though they have paid their revenue, has again called on the Bhuchurs to pay the *dustuk*, which

he makes amount to Rs. 700! I have deferred settlement till I meet Doonnee Chund on the other side of the river.

9th May 1847.—Marched to Cheenuh, 13½ miles. This also is on the banks of the Gomul, and one march from Dera. A *Motbir* of Dewan Dowlut Raie's has come out with a *zeeafut*, but a far more agreeable offering was the intelligence that the remainder of his money is now ready.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No 27.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 10th to the 12th May 1847.

10th May 1847.—Marched to Dera Ismail Khan, 15 miles. A *koss* from the city Dewan Dowlut Raie and the Nawab's brother came out to meet me, and showed me over the fort of Ukalgurh which stands in the open plain about one-fourth of a mile north-west of Dera. It was built by Konwur Nao Nihal Sing; is constructed of burnt bricks, plain, simple, and substantial. It is the best fort I have seen in this part of the world, and only wants a good ditch to be a very serviceable little stronghold. The ditch seems never to have been finished. The town of Dera is built of mud, and is of considerable extent, but at this season of the year there is little business carried on, its whole traffic being with the caravans of Povindeeahs going and coming between Cabul and the Punjab, and just now they have all passed upwards towards Cabul. Yesterday Dowlut Raie's *Motbir* informed me, with a triumphant air slightly mingled with reproach, that the Dewan had got together the whole of the money still due of the 65,000 rupees. To-day it turns out that he has got 16,000 rupees (out of 24,000 rupees), at least he *says* he has; but it remains to be seen whether he has or not; for really there is no reliance to be placed on the most positive statements of either him or his men of business. In the evening by appointment the Dewan met Mohummud Khan, Esau Kheyl-wallah, and his two sons, at my quarters, and I told them all that I thought there had been faults on both sides, but as it was clear that the Esau Kheyl family had enjoyed the favour of the Cabul kings for two generations, when half of the produce of the soil was their allowance: that they had been on as good

terms with the Nawab of Dera, their next master, who reduced their privileges to one-fourth and had secured the good-will even of Konwur Nao Nihal Sing, the rooter up of ancient families in this part of the world, who moreover cut down their one-fourth to one-eighth—it was not credible that so patient and loyal a family would resist any but the severest provocations; and there is no doubt in my own mind that the father of Dowlut Raie from the very first adopted the policy of driving Mohummud Khan to desperation that he might possess himself also of the one-eighth of the produce which conquest had still spared. Maharajah Sher Sing and Dhyan Sing seem to have been of the same opinion, and stood between the Dewan and his victims; but Dowlut Raie, when he obtained the Kardarship, took up the grudge of his father, and the family has been alternately in exile, or reinstated in Esau Kheyl, according as the ebb and flow of Punjab politics have brought or carried away the Dewan from this *ilakah*. The time having it is to be hoped now arrived when self-defence no longer requires violence, I told the Dewan that he had no shadow of excuse for keeping a miserable old man like Mohummud Khan out of his rights and home; and he agreed at last to reinstate him. At the same time I bade Mohummud Khan and his two sons pay implicit obedience to the Dewan, who, as the Kardar of Dera, is their master.

The Khutrees, *shroffs*, etc., of Dera, called to pay their respects, and I talked to them a long while about the trade of this part of the country. They are the only persons whom I have heard speak well of Dowlut Raie in his own *ilakah*, and they certainly praised him to the skies, so much so that for the first time I began to credit what the Dewan says himself—that he is so poor that he has been obliged to borrow money from the Hindoos of Dera to pay the rent of his *ilakah* to the Sirkar. One of the customs regulations here struck me as being both absurd and unjust. Suppose *A* and *B* bring two camel-loads of almonds from Cabul, and *A* wishes to sell his load in Dera and *B* to carry his on to Lahore. *A* has to pay a heavier duty on his load of almonds than *B*. The reason given for this is that *B* will have to pay again in Mooltan, which will bring both duties even,—even to the Crown doubtless, but this is a poor satisfaction to the consumers of Dera, who have thus to pay as much *mileage* on their imports as the citizens of Mooltan, and reimburse the Sirkar for a loss which it never suffered. But this is not

all. Should a Buniyah of Dera purchase the said load of almonds from *A*, and afterwards wish to speculate with it at Lahore, he has to pay a fresh duty, the same as was paid by *B*, who took his load straight across the river. Here is a double robbery, for if the first was a just demand, it should at least frank the goods at any time when forwarded as far as it had been made to pay the duty, *i.e.*, as far as Mooltan. But the Buniyahs say with a sigh that they suppose it must be all correct, for it is a very ancient custom! Received a report from the Soobahdar of the company of Infantry which escorted the magazine carts from Peyzoo to Dera, that a Ghorchurra and his syce, who formed part of the escort, thought proper to leave the camp at Peyzoo and ride into our camp at Koondee. The consequence was that, as he was returning next morning, and trying to overtake the hackeries and his own party, he was intercepted by a band of Vizeeree robbers, and both he and his syce were killed. The robbers carried off his horse and arms; but his body was afterwards brought in by a party of Ghorchurras sent back for that purpose.

11th May 1847—Camp Dera Ismail Khan.—This morning the Ghorchurras and Zumboorkhanah marched for the river, but as there are at present three streams, with a *koss* or two between each, I am afraid they will not reach the farther bank to-day. The brother of the Dera Nawab called on me by appointment, instead of the Nawab, who is such an invalid that he cannot leave his house, sits up to his waist in water, and even in winter cannot breathe except under a punkah. I wished to ascertain the facts connected with the fine of 40,000 rupees imposed on him by Futteh Khan, Towanah. He promised to give me the whole in writing in the course of the day, but verbally informed me that the reason of the exaction was the Nawab having afforded an asylum to Hyatoollah Khan, one of the Tank Jageerdars, when Futteh Khan was seeking to kill him. He gave the worst version of the whole story I have heard yet, that is, he represented it to be a more premeditated crime, but he would not be likely to soften a picture in which he himself is to be regarded as a sufferer. On the other hand, he had the best opportunities from his residence here of knowing the truth.

Received separate visits by appointment from Gooldad Khan and Ali Khan (nephew and uncle), the rival claimants of the turban of Kolachee and Gundapoor. The former has been put in possession by

Dowlut Raie, and after carefully hearing and investigating both cases (for they have been some days in my camp) I think the Dewan's decision quite correct. At the same time, the nephew owes much to his uncle, who acted as his guardian, and kept the province for him till he grew up; and at any rate it cannot be necessary for the uncle to be driven into exile as a consequence of his nephew being the lord of Gundapoor; and I hope to make peace between them.

One thing is apparent that the Gundapoor country is over-assessed, and that whoever has the turban must become a tyrant to realise the enormous sum demanded by the Sikhs, *viz.*, 66,000 rupees. The cries and complaints of the Kolachee people are worse even than those of the Murwutees; and amongst the cases laid before me, not the least significant have been those of Gooldad Khan's creditors, who are unable to obtain payment of sums which they have lent him to enable him to make up the revenue. His jewels and private property are all mortgaged for similar debts, every halfpenny of which has gone into the public treasury. It seems that Pundit Julla it was who raised the Kolachee revenue to this pitch; and Dewan Dowlut Raie declares that he has in vain repeatedly represented the state of the country to the Durbar and the increasing ruin worked by every year's exaction. All the answer he gets is that if he cannot collect the money, another Kardar can easily be found who will. Bad seasons have aggravated this evil; and though I have not seen the country, I should judge from the concurring testimony of the Dewan, Gooldad Khan, and the ryots, that it is in a condition to call for immediate relief from the Sirkar.

A number of Dera zumindars came to make their bow in the evening, and from their account the revenue settlement of Dera itself is far from being hard. One-sixth of the produce of the soil forms the principal item.

12th May 1847—Camp Dera Ismail Khan.—The Ghorchurras having been unable to complete their crossing yesterday, the Sirdar and I agreed to remain another day. In the morning accompanied by Hyatoollah Khan, I rode out to see the ruins of his house in the city, which was plundered and burnt by Futteh Khan, Towanah. Hyatoollah Khan happened to be out riding when the attack took place, and was thus enabled to take refuge with the Nawab; but Ashiq Mohummud Khan

was paying a visit at Hyatoollah Khan's house, and was killed in the assault made upon it. Hyatoollah Khan estimates the property plundered by Futteh Khan at this time from the three Khans and the Nawab at not less than three lakhs of rupees, but says no sum can compensate for the disgrace suffered by the females of their families. Lalah Pohoo Mull, whom I left at Lukkee to store the fort, has arrived, having exerted himself when threatened with a journey to Lahore and laid in the greater part of the required provisions. General Cortlandt also writes word that the improvements and repairs in the fort were satisfactorily progressing. Hearing from Colonel Lawrence that Dewan Dowlut Raie has been summoned to Lahore, I took an opportunity of asking him if he has received any order on the subject. He said not; but seemed so little surprised that I conclude he is not prepared to go just yet, and is waiting to complete his spring harvest collection.

The greater part of this day spent in wading through a mass of petitions (which mark the return to a regular civilized Kardarship). The majority of them were from Kolachee district, and confirm the remarks made in yesterday's diary. There can be no doubt that the district is unable to pay the revenue fixed upon it. Dewan Dowlut Raie has come to an understanding with the Esau Kheyl family, and restored them to their home and privileges. I have told them to take care that when another British Officer comes this way, there be no reason to repent the kindness now shown them; but I suspect the Dewan's avarice is more to be feared than their insubordination. The Ghorchurras having crossed the Indus, the Sirdar and I follow to-morrow morning.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,

Assistant Resident.

P.S.—Late after sunset a great crowd of Gundapoor zumindars collected round the *barahdurree*, and clamorously demanded a reduction of their revenue and the removal of the present Mullick, Gooldad Khan. With respect to the oppressive acts of the latter, I think they have been chiefly forced upon him by the Government demand for more revenue than the ryots could possibly pay.

No. 28.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 13th to the 15th May 1847.

13th May 1847.—Crossed the Indus at the Dera ferry, and encamped on the opposite bank. The river is running in three channels: a large *nullah* on either side of the main stream. Between the two last there is a distance of about four *koss*, on which the crops are still unharvested. The total distance from Dera to the opposite bank (independent of that covered with water) was 11¾ miles; and this agrees with what the natives say that in the rains the Indus is one stream of 12 *koss* from Dera to Bhukkur, and two or three days often occupied in the passage. Dewan Dowlut Raie, the Tak Jageerdars, etc., etc., accompanied me to the river's edge; and the Dewan asked me for a *razeenamah.* I refused, as politely as I could, so cool a request. I made a last effort to reconcile the two Gundapoor Mullicks, Gooldad Khan, the Governor, and Ali Khan, his uncle, but unsuccessfully, so I threw out a hint to them to take care that their mutual dissensions did not distract the province and procure their supersession by a third party—to wit a Sikh Kardar. On the opposite bank a *Motbir* of Dewan Moolraj of Mooltan, who is stationed at Bhukkur, waited on me with a *zeeafut.* It is quite as true here as in Europe that a master may be judged of by his servants, and the two sides of the Indus afford a very good illustration of the proverb. On the Dera Ismail Khan side, the Dewan's *Motbirs* and Kardars are mostly of the Moonshee class; they look like *shroffs* and *khizanchees* and you expect nothing from them after the first interview but an accurate knowledge of how much revenue is paid by the district and how the payers may best be squeezed by collecting, now in kind and now in cash, according to the markets. In short, they are Tahseeldars, and of the lowest kind. On the left bank, skirting Dewan Moolraj's *ilakah,* I have twice or thrice come in contact with his inferior officials and they are of quite another stamp, respectable in their appearance, and respectful in their bearing, speaking with a becoming pride of their master, and good-will towards their ryots, courting enquiry rather than shunning it, as if confident that all was right, and leaving the impression that they belong to a system of Government and not merely to a system of revenue collection. In the evening on the left bank I was both pleased and surprised at receiving

a letter from Gooldad Khan and Ali Khan of Gundapoor, saying that they had taken my advice and made friends, the former giving the latter an allowance of rupees 2,000 a year, somewhat qualified by the expectation that I should succeed in getting the Kolachee revenue reduced. Immediately afterwards followed a crowd of Gundapoor ryots, who had actually crossed the Indus to renew their lamentations, and now declared their determination of going to Lahore to ask justice from the *Sahiblog*. Their petition ran thus · "We, the undersigned zumindars of Gundapoor, humbly represent that Gooldad Khan, who has been set over us by Dewan Dowlut Raie, is a tyrant, and the country in consequence has gone to ruin. He has stretched out the hand of his oppression and exaction over the threshold of every Afghan and Hindoo in Gundapoor. It has pleased God to send a British Officer among us, and we are grateful for the hope his visit gives us of justice and protection to the poor. We pray of you in God's name to relieve us of the intolerable burden of our present revenue, to annul the contract with the Sirkar, and settle a certain share of the actual produce of the soil to be paid in future, letting it be publicly known what that share is, that we may all understand our responsibilities. Take away this tyrant Gooldad Khan from the government, and give us some one who will rule justly that our country may not be depopulated. It is now some years since he took violent possession of lands belonging to many of our number, which he still retains, consuming what is our right. Restore these lands to us and make him disgorge also the unjust fines and causeless forfeitures he has inflicted on us. It was but five days back that his brother set his soldiers on us, and wounded 14 zumindars for no offence whatever. Some of the wounded men are here to tell their own tale, others are too weak to come. For God's sake, we say again, remove Gooldad Khan, abolish the present revenue lease, and give us a revenue settlement according to the produce. Confer a just ruler on us, and deserve our eternal prayers."

14th May 1847.—Marched 20 miles up the left bank of the Indus to Punj Girang, about ten miles north of Duriyah Khan. The larger portion of this Doab is a sandy desert, but along the lower bank of the Indus runs a tract of land about six or eight miles wide, which, being in fact part of the bed of that great river when in flood, forms all the rest of the year highly fertile arable and grazing ground. It is pictur-

esquely interspersed with trees, and its verdure is rendered the more beautiful by contrast with the desert on the higher bank. This river tract is denominated Kuchee : the body of the Doab is called Thull. At this season a large body of men cannot march across the Thull for want of water, and we are now in consequence skirting the river northward till a line of villages will allow our striking across the Doab. Punj Girang itself stands on the upper sandy bank; but we are encamped among five of its wells in the Kuchee below. Pohoo Mull has been sent all this way by Dewan Dowlut Raie to implore me to give him a *razeenamah*, on which he now declares all his hopes and honor depend. I can give but one answer, that he should have made these reflections sooner. It is now too late. I cannot pretend that I am pleased with the most shuffling Kardar, or satisfied with the most disordered *ilakah* I have seen out of Lahore. In the eloquence of his despair this Pohoo Mull (who is indeed the active principal of the Dewan's maladministration) promised that, if I would give a *razeenamah*, the Dewan should turn over a new leaf, take just what revenue I thought fair from every province, pension everybody I thought ill-used, put up what Governors I liked, and take down all I didn't like; open a *cutcherry*, hear petitions, and do justice; in short, there was to be no end to the reformations which my *razeenamah* was to accomplish in the *ilakah* of Dera Ismail Khan. I conclude that the Dewan has received a hint from Lahore to get a *razeenamah* from me ; but to give one would be making a farce of such papers,—empty words of prosperity and desolation, order and disorder. In the evening was waited on by two more of Dewan Moolraj's Kardars, apparently most respectable and well-educated men. One of them is a brother of Asanund, the Mooltan vukeel with Colonel Lawrence, but superior to him in manner and conversation.

15th May 1847.—Marched 18 miles to Kuhloor, still on the edge of the Kuchee and Thull. Our camp is down in the former; the village stands on the latter, and seems a thriving place. It has a small mud fort.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 29.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 16th to the 21st May 1847.

16th May 1847.—Marched 11¾ miles to Peepulee, still on the edge of the Thull and Kuchee, and parallel with the Indus. The dawk brought a *purwannah* from Colonel Lawrence for Dewan Dowlut Raie, and it was given to his *Motbir* in camp to forward. Dewan Doonnee Chund, Kardar of Kuchee, arrived from Roklu, and informed me that he had been removed from his *ilakah*. I told him I was very glad of it. He replied that I could not be more happy than he was, and proceeded to be very merry on the subject, declaring that the people of Kuchee were quite too much for him; that he had never spent a happy day amongst them; and that he considered his return home as equivalent to admission into Heaven after a temporary sojourn in the infernal regions! The Nujeeb regiment, which was sent to his assistance about three months ago, has just been ordered to Peshawur, and the Dewan did not scruple to acknowledge that had he not been removed, he should certainly have run away after the departure of his soldiers. A more miserable and incapable creature I never saw in office of any sort. He is replaced by another relative of Dewan Moolraj of Pind Dadun Khan, named Raj Roop, whom I have not seen, but who I hear has had considerable experience in Kardarship. A more suitable field for his ability could not very easily be found than the *ilakah* of Kuchee, which is scarcely exceeded by Dowlut Raie's in disorder.

17th May.—Marched 13 miles to Hurnolee, a small place on the Thull. No forage and little water.

18th May.—Marched 24 miles to Khylan-ke-Wahn; a very heavy and exhausting march through sand and grass jungle with only one intervening village where the men and cattle could get water. Innumerable petitions. Doonnee Chund has treated the majority of the cases, which had come before me in March and been made over to him for investigation, with the coolest indifference; and after two months' absence they all come back on me like an ebb-tide. He smiles vacantly when I tax him with his neglect, and owns that he had no authority whatever in the district.

19th May 1847.—Marched 13½ miles to Mittah Towanah. Received a visit here from several members of Futteh Khan's family, amongst

them two of his little boys, sent by their grandmother to excite my compassion. I told him that if they really desired the Mullick's release, they had better raise the money due by him, without payment of which he would remain a prisoner all his life. When I was in Bunnoo, a petitioner was sent me by Lieutenant Nicholson from Mooltan or Dera Ghazee Khan. He was a Povindah or Cabul trader, whose *kafilah* had been plundered by one Bhowany Sing, Killahdar of the fort of Girang on the border of Dera Ismael Khan. I handed the case over to Dewan Dowlut Raie and desired him to get justice done to the plaintiff.. When I arrived at Dera the other day, the Povindah once more petitioned me to the same effect, adding that Dowlut Raie had paid no attention to my order. I enquired of the Dewan, who assured me that the man's claim was just and that he had done all in his power to get back the property from Bhowany Sing, but that officer was appointed Killahdar by the Sirkar, and disregarded his authority, excusing his robbery on the ground that the Povindah owed money to the State for *Tirnee* or grazing. The Dewan in reply told him that the *Tirnee* was in his (the Dewan's) charge, and if the Povindah owed money under that head, he owed it to him and not to Bhowany Sing, who was merely Killahdar of Girang and had no authority whatever outside the fort. Moreover, it was false that the Povindah owed any grazing tax and the Povindah has a receipt in full from the Dewan in his possession. Therefore the Killahdar had no excuse whatever in detaining the property. In spite of these remonstrances Bhowany Sing refused to restore the camels, etc. When I heard this I wrote a *purwannah* to Bhowany Sing and directed him to come in to me at Dera. He had not arrived when I left and on the bank of the Indus I made over the plaintiff to Dewan Dowlut Raie telling him that, if when Bhowany Sing came he was inclined to do justice, it would be sufficient to send the Povindah's *razeenamah* to me for my satisfaction; otherwise to send Bhowany Sing himself. This evening Bhowany Sing arrived in camp and brought me a letter from Dewan Dowlut Raie, to the effect that the Killahdar had not been able to restore the property, as the Povindah was not to be found! Now this I do not believe, for a plaintiff who would wait patiently for two or three months, and travel from Mooltan to Bunnoo and from Bunnoo to Dera Ismael Khan, going from one officer to another in the hope of justice, is not likely to have thrown up

the pursuit at the last moment, when he saw that one day more must restore his property. Why moreover did Dowlut Raie let him go after I had formally consigned him to his care? But suppose it to be true, the man could only have gone in despair of justice, and afraid to remain any longer behind the caravan of Povindahs which had already started for Cabul, which only aggravates the case, for how great will be the loss of this poor man, whose camels should have carried up goods to Afghanistan, had they not been seized by this highway robber, the Killahdar of Girang? In short, the whole affair seemed to me so gross that I refused to accept Bhowany Sing's *nuzzur* and told him to leave the camp: if the Povindah be still in Dera, to send him his *razeenamah;* if he has really gone to Cabul, to deposit 100 rupees for every camel which he has seized, in order that when I return this way four months hence, I may repay the Povindah when he comes down from Cabul again. But I have detailed the case thus fully because I think it should not drop here. The only use of European officers going on circuit in these remote *ilakahs* is to take up cases, which either the supine or corrupt native authorities refuse to listen to; and if an offender like this Bhowany Sing is to turn one of the Sirkar's forts into a robber's stronghold, and when detected defy all orders, all hopes of doing justice to the ryot will be at an end. Accordingly I have forwarded to Colonel Lawrence a proceeding in Vernacular detailing the case for the information of the Durbar, who will I hope fine the Killahdar, if not remove him.

20th May 1847.—Marched to Khooshab on the Jheylum 17½ miles. *En route* I inspected the well I had ordered to be sunk at the village of Hadalee, the first regular march from Jheylum river. It is now half finished, and promises to make Hadalee, a more commodious halting place. This Doab is a very trying one for troops.

Visits from Nihal Chund and Doonnee Chund. The petitions against the latter quite sickening. High time he was off.

21st May.—Marched across the Jheylum to Shahpore, five miles. It is quite as well that General Cortlandt's other regiment is to be stationed here, for now that the Nujeeb regiment has been withdrawn from Kuchee, some other troops in the vicinity are indispensable.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,

Assistant Resident.

No. 30.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 21st to the 27th May 1847.

21st May 1847.—Camp Shahpore on the Jheylum.—In the evening received visits from Sirdar Khooshal Sing, who commands the leading Division of our Ghorchurras which came by Kalabagh while we went round by Dera, and from Dewan Jowahir Mull, Kardar of Saheewal. The latter gives a bad account of his *ilakah* and an excellent one of himself; perhaps as he is only newly appointed, the two are intimately connected. I never heard any man praise his own virtues with such thorough complacency; and if he only evinces in his administration the hundredth part of the justice which pervades his conversation, Saheewal will be a favoured spot. He stated that there were 2,000 wells in the district which had stopped working during the last four or five years, owing to the troubles of the State, and the constant changes of the executive. To encourage resumption of cultivation the Dewan has issued a proclamation that he will only take a *nuzzur* of 5 rupees from every well reopened.

22nd May.—Marched to Chowree, 13¾ miles.

23rd May.—Marched to Bheyrah, 20½ miles. I think the Kardar of this place, from all I can hear and see, is the best district officer on this line of road. His name is Syud Meer Shah, and he is an old pupil of Avitabile's, who seems to have imbued him with the spirit of "Aieen." Dewan Hookum Chund, knocked up by our long night marches, begged permission to fall to the rear, which of course he obtained. Sirdar Shumshere Sing, Sindhanwallah, called in the evening to ask me for a *razeenamah*; but considering it rather anomalous that a subordinate political officer in the Maharajah's dominions should address such a document to one of his chief Sirdars and a member of his Council, I shall take an opportunity of writing him a friendly letter before we part, and expressing incidentally my favourable opinion of him. We had a long discussion about the Macedonian invasion, and the points at which Alexander crossed the several rivers. The Sirdar's ideas on the subject are, if possible, more imaginative than the History of Quintus Curtius, but he was more felicitous in applying his traditions to modern times, for he adroitly compared the policy of Alexander in restoring countries

to their conquered kings, to the late generous forbearance of the British Government in not annexing the Punjab after the battle of Sobraon. "What before we had only heard with our ears," said he, "we have now seen with our eyes."

24th May 1847.—Marched 18 miles to Meeanah Goondul. Jungle the whole way, hardly any road, and obliged to steer by the stars.

25th May.—To Kadurabad on the Chenab, 24 miles. Having now once more traversed the breadth of this Doab, I have no hesitation in saying that two-thirds of it are an uncultivated waste. This waste is called the "Bar"; and it uniformly consists, wherever I have seen it, of a rich, maiden soil covered with grass and underwood. Want of water has alone kept it fallow till the present day, and it is thinly populated by wide scattered villages of herdsmen and thieves, who tend their own cattle and steal their neighbour's. This very want of water, however, is obviously a beneficent contrivance of nature to keep large tracts of fruitful land in reserve for the exigencies of posterity and an increasing population, a part of the same economy which covered the original earth with forests and fens, and thus defended its riches from the wasteful expenditure of the idle. It would seem therefore to be worthy of serious consideration whether now, when the Maharajah's dominions have been so circumscribed by political events, when his exchequer is exhausted and at the same time the revenues raised to the highest endurable pitch—this is not the time for developing to the utmost the internal resources of the territory which remains? If so, here is a tract of (in round numbers) from 2,500 to 3,000 square miles lying fallow, requiring only a canal to bring it at once into cultivation, and to furnish food and sphere to thousands who are now wringing a hard subsistence from the other overtaxed Doabs. The increase of revenue thus obtained, or half of it, distributed in the shape of reduced exactions over the rest of the country, would make the Punjab a remunerating land to both the Government and the ryot. It has been said that the inequalities of the surface would prevent such a project of irrigation from being executed; but the observation, applicable as I believe it is, to the country north of the Salt range and beyond the Jheylum, is certainly not true of the "Bar," which is south of the Salt range, and between the Jheylum and the Chenab. A more level tract could not be found and I venture to say that no obstacle would be met

to a canal from Julalpore on the Jheylum to the junction of that river with the Chenab.

In the evening I started with Sirdar Shumshere Sing in a carriage sent out by the Durbar, and went as far as Jhundially Sher Khan, where we passed the day of the 26th, resuming our journey at sunset, and reaching Lahore about 3 A.M. on the morning of the 27th May.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

Political Diaries of LIEUTENANT HERBERT B. EDWARDES, *Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, 1847-48.*

No.	Period. From	To	Page.	Remarks.
20	5th January 1848 ...	6th January 1848 ...	199	
21	7th January 1848 ...	8th January 1848 ...	202	
22	9th January 1848 ...	10th January 1848...	204	
23	11th January 1848 ...	12th January 1848...	207	
24	13th January 1848 ...	16th January 1848 ...	209	
25	17th January 1848 ...	19th January 1848 ...	213	With sketch showing the course of the Indus.
26	20th January 1848...	21st January 1848 ...	220	
27	22nd January 1848...	25th January 1848 ...	223	
28	26th January 1848...	27th January 1848 ...	229	
29	28th January 1848...	29th January 1848...	231	
30	30th January 1848...	31st January 1848 ..	233	With sketch showing proposed canal from the Goombeelah River.
31	1st February 1848 ...	2nd February 1848...	235	
32	3rd February 1848...	7th February 1848 ..	239	
33	8th February 1848...	9th February 1848 ...	244	
34	10th February 1848	11th February 1848	247	
35	12th February 1848	...	250	
36	13th February 1848	15th February 1848	252	
37	16th February 1848	17th February 1848	255	
38	19th February 1848	20th February 1848	259	
39	20th February 1848	23rd February 1848	263	With sketch of land held by the Vizeerees.

No. 1.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 13th to the 17th of November 1847.

13th November 1847.—Accompanied by Mr. Bowring rode out to our camp at Oodoowalee, which we reached at half past 5 P.M., having left Lahore at 11 A.M.; distance 31 miles, as measured last year by the perambulator.

In the first march from Lahore I was glad to observe a large bridge over some *nullahs*, which last year I reported almost impassable for want of repair, was being thoroughly set to right, at the expense, I was informed, of Bhaie Nidhan Sing, who holds the adjacent village of Pindee Dass ke Kote in jageer. The work is quite a benefaction to travellers on this road.

Out of the company of Infantry which had escorted our camp from Lahore I sent back 40 sepoys under the Soobahdar, retaining 30.

14th November.—To Ramnuggur, 16 miles. Put up in the *Barahdurree*. Received a few petitions in the evening, but nothing like so many as last year. The few petitioners that came merely wanted to get an order written on their *urzee* consigning the case to Sirdars Mungal Sing and Ram Sing; but this does not argue well for the accessibility of their courts.

A troop of Horse Artillery is stationed at Ramnuggur under command of Colonel Sookha Sing, part of Sirdar Sher Sing's Cashmere force. A cantonment is nearly ready for them, and the Colonel spoke well of the place as healthy, and affording grass for his horses. The Colonel and his Adjutant visited us in the evening; and were full of the wonders of the steam boat which came lately up the Chenab. Half the people of Ramnuggur went out to see it. The Colonel's description was much more concise than Dr. Lardner's. He said it was "a big boat with a fire-place in the bottom; and a *minar* out of which smoke came and drove on the boat."

Sirdar Sookha Sing, Hussun Waleah, an infirm old gentleman who has jageers in the neighbourhood, was lifted by his servants upstairs to pay us a visit, and as he was going in to Lahore, I gave him an introductory letter to Dr. Hathaway.

A few miles from Ramnuggur is a large place, called Akalghur by the Sikhs and Hindoos, and Alipore by the Mussulmans. In my Diary last year I noticed the walled gardens and *Thakoordwarahs*, and other signs of wealthy inhabitants, and I now observed another enormous enclosure being made close to the road; a piece of ground not less than half a mile in length being walled in and ditched round for a garden by one Devee Ditta. I was informed that the place is a kind of settlement of the officials of Rajah Dhyan and Soocheyt Sing.

15th November 1847.—To Phaleah, across the Chenab, 16 miles. In the ferry-boat met a party of disconsolate zumindars from the *ilakah* of Beeyrah, near Mehanee, returning from Lahore, where they had gone with complaints, and danced attendance (they said) on Lala Shankar Nath, who had received orders from the Sahibs to take their *razeenamah*, but put them off from one day to another, till at last they thought it would be the least loss to go home again. They said unanimously "The Sahibs wanted to do us justice, but Shankar Nath would not let them."

At Phaleah I found that though the zumindars had got revenue books, the *kist* which they had paid four days previously was not entered therein, and "the Kardar (Mool Sing's brother) said he would enter it when they had paid up the whole year's revenue." The purpose of the books is thus entirely defeated.

This *ilakah* was assessed, the zumindars say, in Runjeet's time at 14,000 rupees, and was well peopled and cultivated. It is now assessed at 20,000 rupees, and is full of waste land. Umar Chund (whose exactions are still felt and bitterly spoken of hereabouts) took 30,000 rupees from the *ilakah in one harvest*.

A dawk *hurkara* here complained to me that Lalah Ruttun Chund, Reesh Duraz, only paid the runners Rs. 3-8 a month, cutting all the rest. As he charges the Sirkar by his own account Rs. 4-12 he must make a good thing of it. (This Rs. 4-12 is exclusive of the two months cut from all hands. Rupees 5 is the nominal pay, but the two months fine reduces it to Rs. 4-12.)

Sirdar Ram Sing, Chapahwallah, arrived this evening, and asked for a receipt for his 500 sowars. I told him he should have one when I saw them. The muster was put off immediately *sine die*.

16th November 1847.—To Hurreyah Pind, 24 miles. This is a considerable village on the farther or northern edge of the great Bar or jungle, whose width extends from it to near Phaleah, or about 20 miles. On no occasion in crossing this Bar have I been able to discover traces of the old wells which are said to prove that it was formerly peopled and cultivated. In the heart of the Bar, water is 40 *haths* from the surface, and sinking a well costs from 300 to 400 rupees, so that the hopelessness of ever bringing this wild tract into cultivation by any other means than a canal is apparent. I communicated to the people that such a work is contemplated by Colonel Lawrence, and they loudly expressed their gratitude. They said it was the only thing which "could put a stop to theft"—which is the condition of life hereabouts.

The zumindars of Phaleah being without the Bar depend a little more on cultivation and a little less on theft than their grazier neighbours, but drought has made their last *khurreef* a blank. Timely rain, however, enabled them to sow for the *rubbee*; and the prospect of a settlement from Mr. Bowring raised their spirits.

I could not hear of any village in this *ilakah* having a revenue book.

17th November.—To Meeanee, 16 miles.

Having received two or three hypocritical letters from Bunnoo, I this day sent three copies of a Proclamation—one to Mullick Lal Baz Khan of Bazaar, with directions to affix it in a conspicuous place in the main street of the capital of Bunnoo; one to Kazee Mohummud Kassim, a man of much influence among the religious party; and one to the Mullicks of Meeree, who ran away last spring in a body. I shall send another to General Cortlandt at Lukkee. The following is a translation:—

"*Proclamation to the Mullicks and people of Bunnoo.*

"I told you last spring that if you did not accept the easy terms which were then offered you, and pay up your arrears, I should come to collect the balance in the winter; build a fort, establish a Sikh garrison, and put your fertile valley under a Kardar like any other part of the Punjab kingdom.

"I am now on my way to keep my word, and two forces are marching upon Bunnoo, one from Dera Ismael Khan, and one from Peshawur.

"You see therefore that you had much better have agreed with me in the spring.

"It still depends, however, on yourselves how you will be treated.

"My orders are these: first to collect your arrears of revenue, and secondly to make a settlement for the future.

"With respect to the first, you all know how much you owe, and the sooner you pay it the better it will be for you. I have got all your accounts, and see that Lal Baz Khan's was the only *tuppah* which paid up. Lal Baz Khan will be glad of this as long as he lives, for I shall give him a larger allowance than any other Mullick in Bunnoo.

"With respect to the future settlement, not only the claims of the Maharajah, but of every Mullick, ryot, Syud, or other holder of charitable lands, will be taken into consideration, and justice done to all.

"You know very well that no Sahib ever fixes a heavy revenue. Sahibs are at this moment settling the revenue throughout the Punjab, and making all the people happy.

"If you wish for peace and kindness therefore, and to be good subjects of the Maharajah, let the Mullicks present themselves in my camp without delay, and the people stay quietly in their houses.

"Last spring half of you ran away to the mountains; some because they were afraid of being treated barbarously by the Sikhs, as usual; and some to escape paying revenue.

"You saw that I did not allow plundering and that the soldiers on the contrary stood sentry over your corn, and therefore you need not run away out of fear.

"And it is of no use your running away to avoid payment of revenue, because the Kardar and garrison will wait till you come back; and at last you will either have to pay, or remain for ever in exile.

"Let all good subjects therefore fear nothing but pursue their labours of harvest and cultivation, and let every Mullick who does not wish to be ejected from his chieftainship come in to me.

"Above all, keep in mind that the army which is now coming to Bunnoo is coming to stay; and not to go away again after a month. Make your calculations therefore accordingly.

"HERBERT B. EDWARDES,

"*Assistant Resident.*"

General Bishen Sing's Regiment being stationed here, we relieve the Lahore sepoys, and send them back. Bishen Sing's men have been healthy here throughout the year.

I have made many inquiries into the truth of the story reported some time ago by General Cortlandt, that Dewan Moolraj had caused some Khutranees, who were bathing in the Jheylum opposite Pind Dadun Khan, to be dragged naked up to his house to be punished. The accounts are conflicting, but the affair has caused much sensation, and, whether justly or not, got the Dewan a bad name. As far as I can ascertain, the facts are these: The women of Pind Dadun Khan were in the habit of bathing naked, publicly, in the Jheylum, before the town, and Dewan Moolraj at the suggestion of the *chowdrees* of the city forbade the practice, under penalty of a fine to be inflicted on husbands respectively. On the occasion in question some of the Dewan's sepoys caught several Khutree's wives bathing without clothes, or screen, in the Jheylum, and instead of reporting them took them up before the Dewan. At any rate, whether the women were naked when brought up or not, the act was that of the sepoys.

General Bishen Sing gave rather a strange explanation of Dewan Moolraj's insolvency. He described him as a spendthrift who cultivated popularity in his *ilakah* by squandering the revenue; and particularised one instance of his being so pleased with the performance of an itinerant musician that he told him to sit down, and receive as many rupees as he could carry on his head, which amounted to about Rs. 5,000. On the whole, his faults, by public opinion, seem to have been incapacity for business, inattention, and careless extravagance, not oppression.

The Dewan was especially wanting in management of the Salt mines, which require close application and considerable knowledge of trade, and the reforms introduced by Misr Rulla Ram in this department are the theme of general approbation. The chief merchants of Meeanee were in my tent this evening, and expressed their satisfaction with the new arrangements, more especially at the Misr having established patrols of 20 sowars at four places in the Bar, between Pind Dadun Khan and Ramnuggur, for the protection of *kafilahs*. I have

got from the Misr a statement of his arrangements, and propose to-morrow to translate and transmit them with my next Diary.

Misr Rulla Ram and Sirdar Ram Sing, Jullawallah, both paid us a visit this evening; the former lives at Pind Dadun Khan, the latter in the fort at this place. Opinions differ about the Sirdar's judicial administration, General Bishen Sing in particular describing him as corrupt; but the townspeople here (who ought to know) said "they never heard of his taking a bribe; he *might* do so in a quiet way, but they never knew a case." The *Ukhbar Nuvees* testified to his purity but said "a few people come nowadays to the *Adalut*, at first hundreds crowded it daily." This might be owing, he said, to the number of cases decided. My own impression is that the Sirdar is a respectable man, anxious to do his duty, but not very clever, and much obstructed in the discharge of his office by Kardars, who ought to assist him, but with whose perquisites under the head of *furoee* his *Adalut* interferes.

General Bishen Sing and his officers called. I inquired from another dawk *hurkara* at Meeanee what pay he got from Lalah Ruttun Chund? He said 44 rupees a year after all deductions. One of the deductions he mentioned was four annas to the Darogah, or Moonshee, whoever gives him his pay. Either the said Moonshee takes this besides his own pay, or this *is* the pay he gets from Ruttun Chund, who pockets the pay allowed by the Sirkar and put down in the estimate.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 2.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 18th to the 23rd of November 1847.

18th November 1847.—To Chuck Ramdoss, 21 miles. At Bheyrah, 11 miles from Meeanee, we were met by the Kardar, Syud Meer Shah, of whose conduct I had occasion to report favourably in the spring. As far as I can learn he is still popular among his ryots, though he told me he had lately had a difficult part to play in mediating between the

Mussulmans and the Hindoos; the former conceiving themselves now at liberty to cry the *Azan*, and the latter that the Syud being "ihul-i-Islam" favoured those of his own belief. He said he had held himself neutral, neither permitting nor forbidding the *Azan*; but at last it had been settled to return to the old custom of Runjeet's time, *i.e.*, intolerance. The Syud did not mention that this had been the judgment of Sirdar Kanh Sing, but that Sirdar told me so himself at Meeanee; and as it is the only positive footing on which, under existing circumstances, a Sikh official could be expected to settle such a dispute, I did not make any remark to him, but told Syud Meer Shah to remain neutral as far as possible, and not punish proclamation of prayer.

The Syud in spite of this affair spoke highly of Sirdar Kanh Sing; and particularly with reference to his never taking a bribe.

At Chuck Ramdoss, which is a jageer of Dewan Devee Sahaie, the village authorities inquired "if it was really true that Dewan Moolraj, who had been removed from Pind Dadun Khan, had got the 'Sir-o-pao' of Cashmere from the English?" Nothing perhaps more forcibly illustrates the low state of morality among both the governors and the governed in the Punjab than the peculiarly depraved reports which are set abroad and easily believed.

Here I was met by a large body of petitioners from Kolachee, and learnt for the twentieth time that Gooldad Khan still continues the system of extortion for which last spring an exorbitant revenue was his excuse. That having been reduced it is his own fault if he gives dissatisfaction, and I am afraid it will be necessary to take the *ijarah* of his country from him. As soon as I possibly can I will visit Kolachee.

Received information from General Bishen Sing that his regiment is ordered to Bunnoo; consequent on which he sent me a list of difficulties to be surmounted:—

First, his men wanted pay, which was coming from Lahore, and till its arrival marching was impossible.

(In reply I sent him an order on Misr Rulla Ram for any amount necessary to enable his men to move; and I have since heard from the Misr that he gave the General 13,000 rupees without delay, which however that officer has not reported to me.)

Secondly, detachments were absent in sundry places such as Vuzeerabad, Goojurat, Pind Dadun Khan, Kadurabad, with Kardars, Adalutees, etc., and it was necessary they should rejoin.

(In reply desired Bishen Sing to leave his detachments where they are, as there are no troops at Lahore to relieve them ; and if it is intended that they shall join orders will be sent from Lahore. *N. B.*—By a *roobukaree* subsequently received from Mr. John Lawrence I see that only one-half of Bishen Sing's regiment is calculated as going to Bunnoo, which of course alludes to the absent detachments.)

I desired the General to march without delay, and let me know of the same ; but do not expect to see him before the middle of December.

This day I wrote again to General Cortlandt and sent a letter for transmission to Lieutenant Taylor, pressing on the former the necessity of keeping Lieutenant Taylor informed of his preparations.

From my note to Lieutenant Taylor I extract the following as proper to be reported :—

" Should Cortlandt be in an unprepared state, and write to you to that effect, *my advice is that you come on at once, and march to Michun Kheyl, which is a well disposed village on the left bank of the Koorrum, a short march from Lukkee and a long one from the Kurruk Pass.*"

Not having heard from General Cortlandt, but knowing generally that his men were sick, and that he had asked for several more Infantry regiments, I was afraid that he might make such a report to Lieutenant Taylor as should induce the latter to halt at Kohat or some intermediate place between Peshawur and Bunnoo, and thus much valuable time be lost. Lieutenant Taylor with three Infantry regiments, six guns and 1,600 Cavalry is quite strong enough for march anywhere ; and the sketch annexed will show that his route can scarcely be said to even skirt the corner of Bunnoo.

From Lukkee to Kurruk is 20 *koss*. Jhundoo Kheyl is the nearest of the *tuppahs* of Bunnoo, and is 12 *koss* from Kurruk.

Should Lieutenant Taylor therefore advance alone I conceive he would be encountering no risk. But I shall reach Lukkee myself on 27th November ; and however small General Cortlandt's forces may be I will take care that they give Lieutenant Taylor the meeting at Kurruk any day after that, upon receipt of 24 hours' notice. I merely wrote to prevent delay.

Route from Peshawur to Bunnoo.
(Vide page 140.)



19th November 1847.—To Chachur, nearly 14 miles.

20th November.—To Khooshab on the right bank of the Jheylum, 13 miles. On the road we passed through Shahpore and examined the new cantonment built by General Cortlandt. The lines are, like all Sikh lines, compact and military in their arrangement, not a confusion of huts, and they afford in a comparatively small space accommodation for two Infantry regiments and two troops of Horse Artillery. The roofs alone are incomplete for want of wood. A Havildar's party is in charge. The cantonment is not near the town of Shahpore, but nearly midway between it and the Khooshab ghat.

The country about Shahpore is rich, and seems to me to be more highly cultivated than when I last passed this way, which is creditable to the new Kardar, Dewan Jowahir Mull Dutt (now in Lahore), whose appearance does not prepossess, and still less his discourse, but he is not spoken very ill of hereabouts.

The Jheylum at this season would be an insignificant stream if it were not for its rapidity, to which I presume it owes the flourish of trumpets and beat of drums always accorded by Sikh troops, as they say, to pacify the demons of the flood. The same ceremony is observed at the Indus, but I have not seen it elsewhere.

The Buniyahs of Khooshab are much discontented with Misr Rulla Ram's new salt arrangements, of which ready money is the principle. "Dewan Moolraj they say allowed credit to poor traders, who are now deprived of a livelihood." But the consequence was that Dewan Moolraj became a defaulter to the Crown and has still (it is said by Misr Rulla Ram) 18 lakhs of rupees worth of *hoondees* in his hands from Rajah Goolab Sing's time downwards.

I have read over the Misr's statement of the salt arrangements, which is so loosely drawn up as to be untranslatable, but the following may be gathered therefrom :—

That the miners are now paid daily at the mine instead of every fortnight.

That not a pound of salt leaves the mine without being weighed; weight being previously an item which opened the door for great rascality and consequent discontent.

That cash is taken on the spot for salt delivered or an equivalent in carriage: price, 2 rupees a maund, except at the Hill mine, which supplies the dealers from Hazarah, Rawul Pindee, etc., where 4 annas a maund are taken off on account of the expense of carriage.

The Mussulmans of Khooshab petitioned Mr. Bowring for leave to cry the "Azan." He replied that he would give orders to the Kardar. The present position of the question at Lahore makes it difficult for officers to deal with it in the districts. Mahommedans in Khooshab are to Hindoos as five to one.

The Kardar of Khooshab paid his respects. He seems no wiser than Nihal Chand, who was here last spring. The fact is, he is son of the Kardar of Mittah Towanah (Jymul Sing), on which *ilakah* Khooshab is dependent. In the same way Nihal Chand of Khooshab and Doonnee Chand of Kuchee were near relations of Dewan Moolraj of Pind Dadun Khan, who employed them on that account, and not for their fitness for the situations.

Any question asked of the present Kardar of Khooshab is answered immediately by a Belooch, named Jowahir Khan, son of the former lord of Khooshab, and a small pensioner of Government.

At this place there is a branch of the salt mart, and I had a visit from two very intelligent Moonshees of Misr Rulla Ram. Discussing about Dewan Moolraj of Mooltan (whom, of course, they depreciated), they told me an anecdote which nevertheless is worth repeating. When Sawan Mull was alive, and ruling in Mooltan, he deputed Moolraj to Jhung and Kurrum Narayan to Leiah. The elder son was as unpopular in Jhung as the younger was the reverse in Leiah, and the zumindars of the former province had a saying with which they used to twit the old Dewan—that he had monopolised "Sawun" or the rains in Mooltan, bestowed his "Kurrum" or partiality on Leiah and cursed the agriculturists of Jhung with the "Moolluh," an insect which eats the roots of the corn!

The same Moonshees mentioned that the old Dewan heard as many petitions as might be presented; but Moolraj had fixed ten a day as the number to be read, and latterly had reduced this to five.

These anecdotes are suspicious from their narrators, but are not probably altogether unfounded. Still they are the only whispers I

have heard against Dewan Moolraj, of Mooltan, whose general reputation seems as good as some months ago.

Received a visit from Sirdar Ram Sing, Chapahwallah commending the Sowars and *Zumboorahs*), whom I am glad to find commanded the *Zumboorahs* at Ferozshahr, where they were well served by all accounts!

He speaks highly of M. Mouton, who he says was a *burrah bahadoor*.

The majority of the Sirdars, Sowars and *Zumboorahs* being still in the rear, I agreed to halt a day, and being unwell myself was glad of the rest.

21st November 1847.—Received a visit from Jymul Sing, Kardar of Mittah Towanah, an old *élève* of Avitabile, of whom he speaks with much gratitude and respect. He was formerly Kardar of Wuzeerabad, and seems an experienced person. By his account the *Sawunee* harvest has been lost for want of water in these parts; and by General Cortlandt's advice he has wisely demanded little or nothing from the zumindars, who were thus enabled to sow for the *Haree;* and timely rains have, they say, secured a certain and abundant harvest. It is remarked hereabouts that if one crop fails the other seldom does, and thus a moderate Kardar who is on good terms with his ryots is sure of his revenue.

Jymul Sing says Futteh Khan Towanah's son is collecting money at Mittah to liquidate his father's debt to the Government; and some Buniyahs told me yesterday he had brought some household property and women's ornaments into the town for sale.

22nd November.—Proceeded to Mittah Towanah, 16 miles. Ten miles from Khooshab is Hadalee, an arid spot, where last summer I gave Rs. 1,000 out of the *zeeafuts* I had received to sink a well for the accommodation of travellers and the inhabitants. Last night a great number of the villagers came to Khooshab to express their gratitude and extol the virtues of the water, which they described as "14 annas in the rupee sweet." This is a considerable improvement upon the old wretched well they had, whose water was certainly 8 annas salt. This morning we halted a few moments at Hadalee to inspect the well, whose *pucka* trough certainly affords great accommodation to the herds

which pass this road. In the eagerness of the villagers to exhibit the flowing of the water into the trench, they opened a plug and discharged it over Mr. Bowring.

Outside of Hadalee a large body of camelmen carrying salt complained of the pitiful remuneration which they got from Misr Rulla Ram, being 2 annas for a camel each march. On enquiry it appeared that Rajah Golab Sing had reduced the hire to this from the former rate of 4 annas, and when it is considered that a cooly gets 4 annas a day for carrying a much smaller weight, this sum does seem very inadequate and unfair—unaccountably so. But this is not all; for when I naturally asked why, if they did not like the Misr's pay, they did not seek higher wages elsewhere, they with one voice replied, "that is just what we wish to do, but we are forced to carry the salt, and are still paid in this way. The Salt agent will not let us out of the Doab."

I have written to the Misr for a counter-statement.

The tax called *Tirnee*, for grazing, which is very odious in this part of the country will, I presume, be discontinued as an item in the new settlement.

This day I received a letter from General Cortlandt, dated Dera Ismail Khan, 19th November. He was to march next day for Lukkee with his Artillery and Kuthar Regiment, and will reach Lukkee perhaps a day before I shall. He mentions the partial sickness of Sirdar Shere Sing's Dograh Regiment, but they will soon now be removed. He is collecting workmen for the fort of Bunnoo, and the gates which have been in preparation at Meeanwalee in Kuchee during the summer are now ordered up to Lukkee, as also the magazines stored in Esau Kheyl.

One company of General Cortlandt's Kuthar Regiment is garrisoning the fort of Tak and another the fort of Akalghur at Dera Ismail Khan, and he consulted me about removing them.

I have declined to remove the company from Tak, where it was placed by the Durbar's wish, though I have myself full confidence in Shah Niwaz Khan, who is moveover at peace with the Vizeerees, the enemies who constantly kept the late Jageerdars of Tak upon the alert.

With respect to Akalghur. I should think fifty men could carry on its duties efficiently; and I have told General Cortlandt, if he thinks so and has a trustworthy person in the fort, to withdraw the rest of the company, as we want Infantry.

I must here notice some misstatements of Bhag Sing's in a paper forwarded to me by Mr. John Lawrence, detailing the force destined for service in Bunnoo.

First, he counts up General Cortlandt's two regiments as part of the service force, though at the end of the same paper he suggests its removal on account of sickness to Shahpore, where indeed it must go.

Secondly, he counts among the Cavalry 490 sowars with General Cortlandt and 500 with me, though well aware that those 500 were sent with me *because* the 490 were *not* with General Cortlandt. That officer has to the best of my belief about 300 sowars, the services of which are indispensably required to look after the Povindahs, or Cabul merchants, in the direction of Dera Ismail Khan, Girang, etc., as this is the season for their return from the west; and they are now arriving daily in large numbers and would neither pay their duties nor spare the fields unless kept in check by the authorities. I do not expect a sowar from General Cortlandt, and therefore Bhag Sing's 990 are reduced to 500. These discrepancies I do not mention because I think the force assigned is insufficient; on the contrary, I am quite sure we shall be strong enough for anything when Lieutenant Taylor's division joins; but it is right that the Resident should know what our numbers are.

As the Durbar seem to have consented (by Bhag Sing's *urzee*) to the march of General Cortlandt's Sooruj Mookkee Regiment to Shahpore and the Resident has not remarked thereon, I propose to let them go as soon as I reach Lukkee, and have written to General Cortlandt to prepare accordingly.

This evening I wrote again to Lieutenant Taylor so as to keep him well informed; and repeated my advice to him to come on, *and I would meet him at Kurruk any day in the first week of December with all the men I can muster.* This will be about—

1,200 Infantry.
600 Sowars.
12 Horse Artillery guns.
80 *zumboorahs.*

(The Infantry are reduced by causes already explained and the absence of half of two regiments ordered from Ghebee and Pind Dadun Khan, which will scarcely reach before middle of December.)

At Mittah Towanah I had a visit from Futteh Khan Towanah's eldest son, and he assured me he was exerting himself to collect money for his father. From all accounts, however, the sum he is likely to accumulate will be but a drop in the ocean of the Mullick's liabilities. Everybody agrees in opinion that whatever revenue Futteh Khan is deficient of, he has saved none himself.

23rd November 1847.—To Wahn-i-Khylan, 13 miles. This country as I reported last spring is a desert as far as the eye can reach, not of sand but of hard salt soil; and the traveller who was not aware that the inhabitants have fertile fields nestling under the distant hills would be at a loss to account for the large and thriving, though not very numerous, villages which he meets upon the road.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 3.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 23rd to the 26th of November 1847.

23rd November 1847.—After I had despatched my last diary from Khylan-ke-Wahn, the zumindars of that village brought before me a long-standing case of dispute about land with the neighbouring village of Bundalee. I remembered the case well. When last I past this way I made it over to Doonnee Chand, the Kardar, for settlement; but that incompetent official having been shortly after removed, the zumindars took it to General Cortlandt, who wrote a very proper order concerning it to Jymul Sing, the new Kardar, directing him to assemble *moonsiffs* and report the decision. From that time forward Jymul Sing has taken no trouble in the matter, and as it is one of that nature which embroils a whole district, I was very angry with him, and tore up a *razeenamah* which I had previously given him. I then directed him in a *purwannah* to take no rest until he had carried out General Cortlandt's instructions, but as yet there has been scarcely

time (I write this on 27th) for me to hear of his having done so. General Cortlandt, however, whom I have since met, says this is not a solitary case and that Jymul Sing rarely takes any notice of the cases sent to him until a fine, or *dustuk*, be imposed upon him. He has even withdrawn his vukeel from General Cortlandt's camp and sent one instead to some powerful friend in the Lahore Durbar who shields him from any complaint which General Cortlandt makes against him. He is equally remiss in his revenue arrangements, and when I told the General of the apparent popularity of Jymul Sing among the zumindars, he replied that "well he might be, since he had not yet remitted a half-penny of the Sirkar's revenue." General Cortlandt had formed great expectations of both this man and Ram Sing, Kardar of Kuchee, as they are both men of experience, but he has been disappointed in both. Jymul Sing he believes to be conniving with the zumindars, and has detected him in one case of bribery which has been duly reported to the Durbar, and Ram Sing pursues the opposite policy of uniting with the *punches* against the people. Ram Sing likewise persists, in spite of orders, in taking fines under the old head of *furoee* and a short time ago remitted to General Cortlandt the sum of Rs. 4,000 under that general item, but without any detail. To me Ram Sing positively declared that he never had taken one half-penny of *furoee* since he had been appointed, and this very morning a case came before me in which he had exacted Rs. 1,900 for murder. The case remains to be yet fully investigated, but it bears every mark of truth.

General Cortlandt's commentary on Jymul Sing's remittances illustrates his system sufficiently, and I will mention the case of Bhuchur-ke-Wahn as illustrative of Ram Sing's.

Last spring Bhuchur-ke-Wahn was in a state almost of rebellion when I arrived, and after settling a blood-feud with a neighbouring district which had prevented them from cultivating their fields, I released the *punches* from the Kardar's prison and succeeded in coming to a settlement of the revenue for the past *khurreef* of 1903, and the two next crops, *viz.*, the *rubbee* and *khurreef* of 1904, at the yearly rate of Rs. 8,200.

When on the morning of 24th November Mr. Bowring and I arrived at Bhuchur-ke-Wahn we were met by the whole population (except the *punches*) crying for justice, burning brands, etc., etc.

Their complaint was *an excessive revenue*, and as this was quite incomprehensible to me, who remembered that I had reduced their revenue down to Rs. 8,200 from previously much higher sums (on one occasion in Pandit Julla's time the enormous sum of Rs. 30,000 was extorted!), I took some pains to get to the bottom of it, and have little doubt that the story of the zumindars was true, *viz.*, that although I had fixed Rs. 8,200 on them, the *punches* uniting with the Kardar had so managed the distribution as to realise upwards of Rs. 12,000 from the cultivators.

On the 25th November, when we arrived at Meeanwallee, a similar scene took place, the people loudly reviling and the *punches* as stoutly praising Ram Sing, the Kardar.

The revenue settlement in which Mr. Bowring is now engaged will, it is to be hoped, put an end to much of this evil; but I report my unfavourable impressions of both these Kardars, with my reasons, in compliance with what I know are the wishes of the Resident.

The district of Kuchee, and the rest of the Sindh Sagar Doab, south of the Salt range and north of the Mooltan border, is one of the most lawless and most difficult in the Punjab kingdom. Law has been here unknown, and a complainant now heads his protest against a criminal suit by pleading boldly the practice of the country: his right to kill in revenge of murder, and his right to be satisfied when the murderer gives a daughter to him by way of compensation.

It is unfortunate, therefore, that the worst Kardars should seem to be invariably sent to this difficult country, and it is much to be regretted that General Cortlandt is prevented by the expedition to Bunnoo from proceeding in person, as he would have done, to clear off the old suits and feuds and revenue arrears of Kuchee. It will be impossible, however, for that officer to do any justice to the people if Jymul Sing is supported by the Durbar in making himself independent of the Nazim.

It is with much gratification that I report that the above-mentioned blood-feud between the villages of Peepul, Lumbah, etc., and the village of Bhuchur-ke-Wahn, which had raged for 24 years and involved the murder of 29 men on one side, 22 on the other, and the aggregate plunder of 3,000 head of cattle, has never been re-opened since the settlement which I made of it in March last, and the zumindars of both sides

have peacefully taken to the cultivation of their fields. The Resident will remember that in that settlement I called in as mediators a holy family of three brothers, who lived in this village of Meeanwallee and are revered not only throughout Kuchee but the mountain ranges across the Indus. As a reward for the service they then rendered to humanity I solicited for them from the Resident a grant of Rs. 500 a year, and I understood that an order was issued for the *sunnud* to be made out, but it has never reached me.

I should be happy to have it in my power to reward these people, and here detail their names—Chiragh Alee and Ghous Alee, brothers, and Bahadoor Alee, son of Moorad Alee, the third brother, lately deceased.

On arriving at Meeanwallee I was somewhat scandalised to find the nephew, Bahadoor Alee, at variance with his two uncles; but adjourning to the *musjid*, we talked the quarrel over (the villagers vehemently taking part in the discussion and siding with their respective *Peers*) and at last I brought about a complete reconciliation, on promising to recommend the recusant nephew to receive his dead father's share of the expected *Dhurmurth* from Lahore.

This day I received a letter from Lieutenant Taylor detailing his route and days of marching, which agree very well with our own, and I have no doubt we shall unite without any difficulty at Kurruk about 3rd or 5th December.

Lieutenant Taylor mentioned that, agreeably to orders from the Durbar, all the three Barukzye Sirdars were about to accompany the Peshawur Division, which could not surely be the wish of the Resident? In my letter from Lahore to Lieutenant Taylor I said "1,000 Barukzye Sowars under Khwajah Mohummud." In reply to Lieutenant Taylor's dispatch I wrote again, and sent him a rough sketch of the point of junction in Bunnoo and the route thereto.

Hearing that one troop of General Cortlandt's Artillery had not yet marched from Rokree in Kuchee (about four *koss* from Meeanwallee) I sent orders to them to move next day down to the Indus.

In the evening I went to the village again to examine the four gates which have been prepared here for the fort of Bunnoo. They

are strong and well made, and I made the workmen a present of Rs. 25. The carts of the Artillery must come back from Bunnoo to fetch these gates.

26th November 1847.—To Esau Kheyl, about 18 miles, crossing the Indus at Kaloo Kheyl ferry, eight *koss* from Meeanwallee. The Indus is now three-fourths of a mile wide.

The ferrymen complained bitterly of Heera Nund, the Moonshee in charge of the *miherbeyree* tolls, who they said gave them no share whatever of the produce of their labour, so that they subsisted on the charity of occasional passengers. Heera Nund himself is at Derah Ismail Khan, but both his Moonshee and chupprassee here corroborated the tale of the boatmen. Believing therefore that the new regulation is two-thirds to the Sirkar and one-third to the boatmen, I have caused the Moonshee to restore that quantity of his receipts on account, but I have written a *roobukaree* also to the Resident on the case with the view of bringing Heera Nund to punishment.

On the right bank of the Indus we were met by General Cortlandt with the Esau Kheyl family (Mohummud Khan and his two sons, Shah Niwaz Khan and Alum Khan) and a large escort of moonshees and officials about the head-quarters of the Nazim.

After general inquiries about the Provinces under the General's supervision, I was pleased to learn that the extensive valley of Murwut, last spring no better than a desert, is now one sheet of cultivation and the people contented with the settlement I made of the revenue.

In like manner the valley of Tak is said to be recovering from the mismanagement of the late jageerdars. Shah Niwaz Khan has exhibited more executive ability than anybody gave him credit for. He is his own Kardar, and deals directly with his people, who have unanimously come forward to assist him in the task of fulfilling his engagement with the Sirkar. He has recalled all exiles from the hills, adjusted old quarrels with the Vizeerees, and thus secured the irrigation, and at last brought more land under cultivation for the next *rubbee* than can be remembered since the death of Sirwur Khan, the "King Alfred" of Tak.

Kolachee, as the Resident is aware, is in a very different condition and I propose to visit it as soon as ever I can get away from Bunnoo.

The Kardar of Girang and the new Thannadar of that fort have also been giving much trouble, and General Cortlandt has at last been obliged to suspend the former for seduction of the wives of his Khutrees.

The Thannadar, Bhowanny Pershad, asserted his independence of General Cortlandt, and only came in when his men were starving for want of pay.

The fact is that in the old times of jealousy and mistrust, Runjeet Sing did make this fort independent of the Kardar of Deyra, but the evils of such a system were fully proved by the highway robberies of the late Thannadar, Bhowanny Sing, and perhaps the Resident will concur in the advisability of making the fort and its garrison obedient to the Nazim.

It remains only to mention the province of Esau Kheyl, and as agreeably to the petitions of the zumindars I am now engaged in preliminary enquiries for a new revenue settlement, I shall at present only say that one is much required. The invasions of the river Indus have sadly encroached upon this once extensive province, and the former revenue tells heavily on the impoverished zumindars.

The new order which I gave out excusing the cultivators of new ground from three years' revenue has, however, already brought forward many parties willing to cross the river, and I have to-day settled one or two disputes about the *mulkeeut* of land on this side of the river, by inducing the party whom I thought in the wrong to form a colony and migrate to the other bank, where a rich alluvial soil now covered with tiger-grass and jungle invites their industry.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

P.S.—Mr. Bowring after visiting Esau Kheyl left me and returned to Kuchee.

No. 4.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 27th of November to the 1st of December 1847.

27th November 1847.—Halted at Esau Kheyl to allow the Horse Artillery troop to come across from Rokree.

Received innumerable petitions from the zumindars and artisans, praying for a revision of their present revenue settlement, which is so intricate and perplexed as to be almost incomprehensible. Notwithstanding these complaints, there is every sign of a re-action in this province. The river Indus had year by year encroached upon its fields and the unbridled exactions of Dewan Dowlut Raie's Kardars nearly completed the work of devastation. A large proportion of the poverty-stricken people migrated to Bunnoo and Murwut, where land was more plentiful and Sikh power less. The removal of the Dewan and the appointment of a new Kardar in Esau Kheyl, who seems inclined to do his best, has recalled the people to their homes; and the scramble for land is now marked by the revival of old claims to zumindaree and an eagerness in any one who has a little money to get a grant of waste land on the other bank of the Indus. To-day I think upwards of 3,000 *beegahs* of jungle have been taken up.

Jaffir Khan and Alladad Khan, Mullicks of Bunnoo, came in yesterday, but I believe I omitted to report it. The former paid up last spring, the latter is now ready to do so. Sher Must Khan also, the most influential Chief perhaps in Bunnoo, was with General Cortlandt some days ago, but has returned by my order to re-assure the Meeree Mullicks who ran away before. It is good that these Chiefs have already submitted, but the worst characters still remain behind.

28th November 1847.—Marched to Durrah-i-Tung, about 12 miles. On the road had the satisfaction of seeing a burnt and abandoned village named Musjeet, which I remember in ruins last spring, now re-built, re-peopled, enlarged, and thriving.

This morning I heard that Sirdar Ram Sing, Chapahwallah, had been angry with the Kardar "for not giving him supplies for nothing as the other Kardars had done on the road." Sending for the Sirdar's *Motbir*, I told him quietly that it was very fortunate no complaints had been made against his master on the road by the zumindars who had been robbed by the Kardars to supply him, but for the future it had better be understood that anything that anyone in camp, high or low, required out of the villages must be paid for. The hint will, I have no doubt, be taken.

29th November.—Marched to Lukkee in Murwut. Last spring his country was a sandy desert. Now wherever the land is not

actually salt, it is under cultivation, and the young corn-shoots promise such a harvest as the people say they never remember. Here again are seen the benefits of Dowlut Raie's removal and the revenue settlement made in the spring; for had the old Kardars remained and the same system of revenue, even the plenteous rain which has fallen would not have induced the Murwutees to sow seed, so little confidence had they in profiting by their own labour. The Murwutees all waited on me as soon as I arrived, and though as Puthans they could not help asking to be let off some more revenue, they expressed themselves both by looks and words highly contented with their present lot and prospects.

In the summer I sent to Bhawulpore for some seed of the large desert-melon, which is all that the traveller in Bikaneer oftentimes has to drink, and forwarded it to the Mullicks of Murwut, for whose sandy country the plant is so well adapted. One of my first enquiries was for the melons, and I was amused to hear that the Murwutees were much disappointed with their flavour, having eaten them as soon as they attained the usual size of their own, *i.e.*, when they were half ripe.

Received a letter from Lieutenant Taylor, dated Kohat, 26th November, describing the great difficulties of the Pass and fixing the 4th or 5th December as the probable date of his arrival at Kurruk. I cannot account for this, as Rajah Soocheyt Sing took six guns down the same Pass, with an escort of only one regiment of Infantry belonging to General Cortlandt, and no obstacles were encountered worth mentioning.

General Cortlandt's tents and my own will remain here in consequence, our Infantry and guns halting at Michun Kheyl, four *koss* ahead. The delay will enable us to get on with the Esau Kheyl settlement.

The town of Lukkee, which was last spring burnt by the Murwutees when they besieged Dowlut Raie's thannah in the fort, is now a thriving town with full of shops and streets. The removal of the customs (which were very heavy here) did great good, but as usual the *muhsooleah* of Misr Rulla Ram, put here to look after the salt, must needs levy customs on his own account on other articles. I have requested General Cortlandt to write to his master to remove him.

The fort of Lukkee has been thoroughly repaired, and a *pucka* tank built inside it. Now that the Regular troops are withdrawn from

here, a garrison of 200 Irregular Infantry will be sufficient. The Lahore Durbar, when General Cortlandt was coming up here, forced upon him a pack of ragamuffin Poorbeeahs called "Mokhtuhs," entertained by some favourite Moonshee. These men were sent to supersede the really hardworking and brave Rohilla garrisons of the forts on this frontier, and the consequence is that they desert one after another when they see what sort of a country they are set down in. Last year 250 ill-paid Rohillas defended the fort of Lukkee against 12,000 Puthans successfully, and I was quite ashamed to see their places filled by puny Hindoostanee grass-cutters, or other scum, who had paid 10 rupees to be enlisted.

There were 60 of the original Rohillas starving in the city when I arrived, and at my recommendation General Cortlandt re-entertained 24 to fill up vacancies.

30th November 1847.—A halt. *Urzees* all day. Took a muster in the evening of the *Zumboorahs* and Sowars, to see that their ammunition was complete.

A tribe named Huweyd, who live on the borders of Murwut and Bunnoo, and never submitted even to the Cabul Kings, came quietly in to-day, and asked "for a settlement like that which I had given Murwut."

Another letter from Taylor. Arrival at Kurruk postponed till 7th December.

1st December.—Halt again, and *urzees* all day relating to Dowlut Raie and his shabby doings.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 5.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 1st to the 5th of December 1847.

1st December 1847—(*continued*).—*Camp Lukkee.*—I believe I omitted to mention that, when the revenue settlement of Murwut was made by me last spring, I had the utmost difficulty in getting Dewan Dowlut Raie to give the Mullicks of Murwut *sunnuds* of the "Inam," to which

they were entitled. At length he did so, and I countersigned them to prevent deception. Now the Mullicks have come to me in a body to complain that the Dewan, after putting off the payment from one time to another, completed his collections and then went off to Lahore without giving them anything. When I mention that the amount of these *sunnuds* (four in number) is on an average 1,200 rupees each, including payment of Sowars, but exclusive of allowances in kind also, it will be apparent that the loss inflicted was very great to men already impoverished by the Dewan's exactions. I directed General Cortlandt to discharge the debt out of the treasury and carry it to the account of Dowlut Raie, as also a similar promissory note for 200 rupees which he gave to the Khutrees of Lukkee in compensation for the destruction of their houses by the rebellious Murwutees, but which the Khutrees never could realize from his Kardars.

Nizam Khan, the Thannadar of Lukkee, after relating to me a piteous tale of his poverty, the loss he has suffered in his pay by Dowlut Raie's removal, and the ill-name he has got in Murwut from carrying out Dowlut Raie's orders, begged me either to help him or get him his discharge.

I have mentioned the circumstance in a *roobukaree* to the Resident, but beg to recommend Nizam Khan to his favourable consideration, as a person of old family and good services, an instance of which latter came under my own observation in the spring when he gallantly defended Lukkee fort with 250 Rohillas against 10,000 or 12,000 Puthans. He is admirably adapted for a Killahdar with military command only in a difficult post, but should have nothing to do with Kardarship, of which he is ignorant.

On the night of December 1st Sher Must Khan arrived from Bunnoo, bringing with him the Mullicks of most of the Meeree *tuppahs*, whom I never saw in the spring. They seem poor, and as their ground is much plundered by the Vizeerees, they never came in to be plundered also by the Sikhs. Now they have no alternative, and I am glad to find that this is the best of all seasons for an expedition against Bunnoo, as the cold which drives the Vizeerees down to the plains to feed their flocks prevents the Bunnoochees from driving away theirs into the hills.

2nd December 1847.—To Michun Kheyl, on the left bank of the Koorrum. The change in this country since Dowlut Raie's removal has been immediate. Land all about here, which I remember waste and abandoned, is now under active cultivation, and General Cortlandt is endeavouring to encourage the introduction of sugarcane and a superior description of rice by advances of plants and seed which are gratefully accepted.

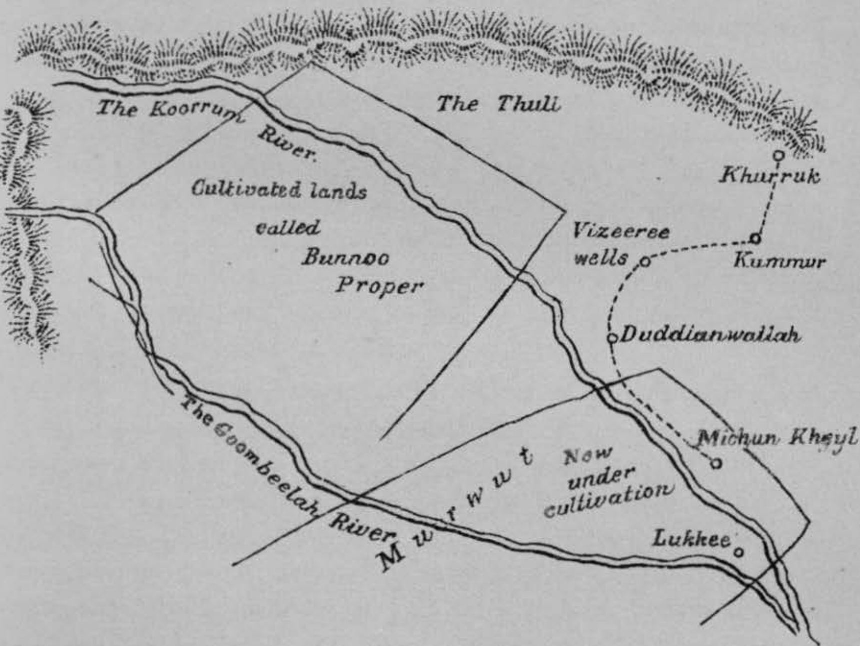
3rd December.—A halt to receive news of the position of the Peshawur force. Had some mortar practice; tolerably good. At noon rode out with General Cortlandt and a party of horse to reconnoitre the road to Kurruk, as this is a country unknown to us all. Last spring I brought the force (on its return) down the left bank of the Koorrum, where the Sikhs had never been before though nominally lords of Bunnoo for twenty-four years, but we only marched through Michun Kheyl and saw little of the interior. It proves to be the base of a very extensive triangular *Thull*, or sand, occupied by Vizeeree tribes, and running from the *débouche* of the Koorrum down the whole east side of Bunnoo, between the Koorrum and the hills. At this point, from Michun Kheyl on the river to Kurruk at the foot of the hills, is not less than 25 miles and to Kummur not less than 18. Such a march over sand-hills being impossible for the guns and ammunition carts, and there being no water half-way in a direct line, we at last determined making a circular march to Kummur in three days, for which the delay of the Peshawur troops just gives time. The route will be somehow as shown in the annexed sketch.

4th December.—Marched to Duddianwallah, about 13 miles. On the line of march took notice that out of 100 Ghorchurras told off to escort the hackeries with ammunition not 15 were to be seen with their charge, and of those I caught half standing dismounted over a fire some little distance from the road: without any difficulty they might all have been taken prisoners. Spoke seriously to Sirdar Ram Sing on the subject, and told him I would much rather send back the Ghorchurras to Lahore than keep them on these terms and endanger the safety of all hands.

To remedy such negligence as far as possible for the future, I requested General Cortlandt to number every ammunition cart and let a sowar be told off to each number, so as to bring home neglect of duty.

Sketch of route of force under Lieutenant Edwardes.

(Vide page 156.)



In the evening wrote to Lieutenant Taylor by a sowar of the Esau Kheyl-wallahs and informed him of our route. I also begged him to prevent the men of his camp from *chuppaoing* any of the Vizeeree encampments. Yesterday Mullick Swahn Khan, a magnificent specimen of a mountaineer, and Chief of the Vizeerees in these parts, entered our camp, and renewed the acquaintance which I had formed with him in the spring, when he was my guest for nearly a month. I am now engaged among other matters (so numerous that I scarce know which to do first!) in investigating the position of the Vizeerees in this extensive Thull; their right to cultivate what may be arable, and to graze their myriads of sheep, oxen and camels, to say nothing of plundering the Bunnoochees as wolves do fat sheep. There is every chance of coming to some settlement with these wild people, at once satisfactory to the Bunnoochees, and honorable to the Maharajah of Lahore (who has never received so much as a bit of wool from them, but been robbed of much revenue). My present idea is to make Swahn Khan their recognised Chief and responsible for all the tribes, each of which is to register their numbers and Chiefs, and pay a *nuzzuranah* of so many *doombahs* and camels yearly when they descend into the Thull. As for their arable lands—if in Bunnoo they will be dealt with as all others, if in the Thull (where no other tribe can settle and oppose them) a nominal revenue. The negociation is difficult, as the Vizeerees pride themselves on never having paid revenue to any sovereign, either in Cabul or Hindoostan.

Gave a long interview to Gooldad Khan of Kolachee, who has arrived uninvited to answer the complaints of his people. I am much perplexed about the case, but cannot judge of it fairly till I go to Kolachee. The pacific effect of restoring Shah Niwaz Khan to Tak and the Esau Kheyl exiles to their home has been so remarkable among the Puthans on this border as showing them that at last their interests are regarded that I shall be sorry to be obliged to quarrel with the Kolachee family, but it will be difficult to reconcile them to their ryots.

5th December 1847.—Marched to the Vizeeree wells, about 12 miles. The Thull opens itself to our view as we advance, and is, in places, not destitute of cultivation; but though a complete country in itself, whose existence even has remained unsuspected, I see not what

better, or indeed what else, can be done with it than purchasing good neighbourhood for the Bunnoochees from the Vizeerees.

At this spot runs the deep but dry bed of a hill torrent in the rains, and in it are scraped about 30 or 40 wells round which troughs are ingeniously shaped of clay. The Vizeerees descend into these wells (which are about the height of a man in depth) and hand up the oozing water into the troughs above, out of which the crowding cattle drink. These numerous wells give a great idea of the flocks that drink at them.

The same, or nearly the same, neglect of duty having occurred among the Ghorchurras on this march, and Sirdar Ram Sing having declared that, though ordered on this duty, the whole *missul* (45) of Sirdar Lungur Khan were absent from their posts, I sent for their Commander, Lungur Khan's son, and gave him his *rookhsut*, desiring Sirdar Ram Sing to appoint a new Commandant out of the *missul*. Had the exigencies of this small camp permitted, I would have sent away the sowars also; but probably it is a severe punishment to such skulkers to keep them here. It is most difficult to get work out of the much-vaunted Sikh Ghorchurras. One regular regiment of their Cavalry is worth three times the same strength of Irregulars.

Received a letter from Lieutenant Taylor, who still hopes to reach Kurruk on the 7th. As it is doubtful whether the water at Kummur can supply all our camp, the force will halt here to-morrow with General Cortlandt for one day, I going on to reconnoitre the country and ride into Lieutenant Taylor's camp, which ought to be three marches off by that time.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 6.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 6th to the 9th of December 1847.

6th December 1847—Camp: the Vizeeree wells.—At daybreak, as proposed last night, I took 25 sowars, and putting old Swahn Khan, the Mullick of the Vizeerees, at the head of the party as guide, set off to explore the country between our camp and that of the Peshawur force.

The two sons of the Esau Kheylwallah and Kalloo Khan of Kolachee volunteered to come too, and I was glad of them as interpreters of Pushtoo.

Striking due east across the Vizeeree Thull, we rode about 12 miles to Kummur, the place our camp was to have marched to to-day.

Kummur is a settlement of Khuttuks of the tribe Toorkee Kheyl, who formerly inhabited a town built of mud and pebbles on the tops of some high hillocks on the bank of a dry *nullah*. That town, however, was destroyed in a feud and abandoned, and the Toorkee Kheyl now live in reed and thorn houses scattered about their fields, which are numerous and well cultivated. There is no water procurable nearer than the old town, which is a *koss* off, and the road was covered with women going backwards and forwards with water-skins laden on donkeys.

I observed many of these animals minus their ears, and on enquiry was told they had been "*fined*" for straying into their neighbours' fields!

The water which I went to see was obtained from several deep wells sunk in the bed of the dry *nullah*, and I was astonished at the crowd of women engaged in drawing and lading it. The Puthans in these valleys estimate their females very low, and make them not only the drudges of the household but of the field. I have seen a Khuttuk woman carrying home on her head a load of *kurbee* under which a man of Hindoostan would have staggered.

An Akhoon (so called because he was the only man in the village who could read) came running out from Kummur to salute Swahn Khan, and invited us all in to dine and smoke a *chillum*, honors which we declined. The Akhoon's literary pursuits had not prevented him from taking his full share in the wars of his tribe, and two deep incisions in his skull, and a lost eye, testified to his prowess. Hearing that I was the Sahib, who commanded the force in Bunnoo, he immediately besought me to recover for him a certain long-barrelled musket, which once belonged to his lamented father (killed in a fray), and which had fallen a prey to a Murwutee, who sold it to one Shah Baz Khan of Bunnoo. I promised to try and negociate a fair sale.

Having seen that Kummur was not fit for encamping at, on account of the scarcity of water, I pushed on to Kurruk at the mouth of the Kohat Pass, about six miles from Kummur. The Thull gradually narrows into a neck of cultivated ground at Kurruk, closed in on both sides by the Khuttuk hills running southwards towards Esau Kheyl, and northwards and west to the Koorrum. At the end of the neck commences the series of valleys and hill ranges which form the pass of Lachee Teeree and Kohat to Peshawur.

Kurruk is a straggling collection of mud and pebble huts and towers, sprinkled about the fields, remarkable only for the number of its wells—a rare sight in the cultivation of these parts, which either depends entirely on rain or river irrigation.

From Kurruk we advanced about ten miles farther into a district of great extent and high cultivation called Chounterah, and found the Peshawur force (about 3 P.M.) encamped at Jheyndree

The Peshawur division has had to encounter very great difficulties in coming down the pass, and all hands speak highly of the personal exertions and example of Lieutenant Taylor in endeavouring to surmount them.

I was at a loss to understand why so much difficulty had been experienced by this division and so little by Rajah Soocheyt Sing when he brought six guns and 1,600 men down the same pass; but it is accounted for by the fact that the Rajah took his ammunition on camels, while the Peshawur force has brought hackeries—a description of carriage of course quite unsuited to a mountain road.

Sirdar Khwajah Mohummud Khan, and several other of the numerous progeny of the Barukzye Sirdars, called to see me at Lieutenant Taylor's camp, and seem to have each inherited a full share of the polished insincerity of their race.

Chounterah is part of the Jageer of Sirdar Sooltan Mohummud Khan, and its extent and cultivation bring home to the mind some idea of the broad lands which the Barukzye Sirdars are holding, and of which little or nothing is known. The revenue depends, of course, in the power of the Jageerdars to collect it from tribes who pay allegiance only to the sword; but if the Barukzyes are vigorous in their administration, their income must be immense. Probably no more

economical arrangement, however, could be made than leaving these hills and valleys in their hands, the view which Runjeet Sing took of it when, in anger at the conquest of Peshawur by Hurree Sing, he gave back Kohat and its dependencies to the Barukzyes. The Khuttuks as far as Kummur are nominally ryots of Sirdar Sooltan Mohummud: their legitimate Chief is one Khwajah Mohummud Khan, Khuttukee, who lives at Teeree, and is subservient to the Kohat Sirdars.

7th December 1847.—Rode with Lieutenant Taylor the march to Kurruk from Jheyndree. I then advised him not to think of halting on 8th at Kummur, but to push on to our camp at Joor, for which purpose I promised to send out all our bullocks to assist in bringing up his hackeries. At 3 P.M. I once more regained our little camp at Joor.

There being some doubts about a large mortar in camp, we had some practice this evening, and so ill-constructed is the piece (though the work of Sirdar Lena Sing) that it would only throw an empty shell 200 yards.

Finding grain very scarce in camp, and that two Bunnoo Mullicks whom I had ordered to bring in supplies had not done so, I sent for them and turned them out of camp, forbidding them to return without the quantity required.

8th December—Camp Joor.—This morning the Peshawur force under Lieutenant Taylor joined that under General Cortlandt, and we advance into Bunnoo to-morrow. Preparatory to that step, I to-day issued the following Proclamation:—

"*To the Mullicks, Syuds, Kazees and other holy men of Bunnoo,*—The Peshawur division has this morning joined General Cortlandt, and to-morrow we shall enter Bunnoo with 18 guns, 130 *zumboorahs*, 2,000 Cavalry, and 5 regiments of Infantry.

"Almost all the Mullicks of Bunnoo have wisely come in, but two or three are still absent; and I now warn them for the last time that unless they come in they will be dealt with as enemies.

"The people of Bunnoo, it is well known, are entirely in the hands of their religious advisers (the Syuds, Kazees, etc.) and their Mullicks. I now give notice, therefore, that in whatever *tuppah* a single shot is fired upon the Sikh camp, or even a Sikh soldier, in that *tuppah* I will

depose the Mullick from all authority and confiscate his lands, and will not give one *beegah* of ground in *dhurmurth* to any holy man.

"On this you may rely, and it will not be admitted as any excuse that bad characters from one *tuppah* came into another and there fired upon my men. The Mullicks and Syuds are responsible for the peace of their own *tuppah*.

"HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident."

8th December.

CAMP VIZEEREE WELLS:

The two Mullicks have returned with large supplies, and grain is now plentiful, though not very cheap: *attah* 10½ seers for a Mehrabee rupee, or 14 annas.

As indicative of the terms we are now on with the once-dreaded Vizeerees, I may mention that they this day represented through their Mullick (Swahn Khan, who is with me in camp) that the camp-followers and soldiers were straying all about the Thull, and they begged that they might be kept nearer home, as if any accident happened to them the blame would be sure to be laid on "the Vizeerees"!

9th December 1847.—Marched to Jhundoo Kheyl, the south-eastern-most *tuppah* of Bunnoo, distance about ten miles. Encamped on the high bank of the Koorrum, where we were flooded in the spring by a sudden fall of rain in the hills. Any fall in the hills now will be snow.

This evening late three Mullicks of the Sooraunee *tuppahs* of Bunnoo and one representing two *tuppahs* on the west side came in, thus leaving only one Mullick, who is head of a *tuppah*, at large. On each of them I imposed a fine of 5 rupees a day for every day since I reached Lukkee, where I ordered them to be in attendance, as I thought it not fair to draw no distinction between them and those who came in willingly at first. The Mullick still abroad, I need scarcely say, is old Dillassah Khan of Daood Shah, the bitter enemy of the Sikhs. He rejoices in the title of *Ghazee*, and never submitted to a Sikh force, till last year he came in to me on promise of his life. I treated him with great kindness, and he conducted himself well, even paying in part of his revenue, till one day Sirdar Shumsher Sing was foolish enough to reconnoitre his fort with a *Sowarree* of 200 or 300 men, and Dillassah

dreading treachery fled to the hills and obliged me to confine all the other Mullicks in camp. The Sikhs hate his very name, and the Bunnoochees are jealous of his *Ghazee* reputation ; both parties, therefore, do all they can to keep him from coming in, looking forward with glee to the probability in that event of a Sikh fort being built on the admirable site of Dillassah's *gurhee*. Though the old man behaved very ill to me personally, and wrote me a very insolent letter after his flight, I feel it a pity to drive so brave and aged a man into exile for the few years he has to live ; and I have sent him this evening a *purwannah* informing him that, if he really is in rebellion, I must make him an example ; but if fear for his life alone keeps him from coming in, he can come in and make his peace, for I guarantee his safety. The consequences after this will be on his own head.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 7.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 10th and 11th of December 1847.

10th December 1847.—Halted at Jhundoo Kheyl and took a muster before breakfast of the Barukzye Sirdars' contingent. Their complement is 1,000 sowars, but they paraded nearly 1,100, besides 43 *zumboorahs* and 20 *juzailchees*. I must do them the justice to say that a finer body of Irregular horsemen, whether as to men, arms or horses, I never saw. Sirdar Khwajah Mohummud Khan and his horse, completely accoutred in chain armour set with gold, looked like a leaf torn out of Froissart's Chronicles. The exhibition was highly creditable. As yet I cannot say so much for their discipline. Yesterday several of the Barukzye sowars were seized plundering in the villages, and as it was the first offence I handed them over to the Sirdar for punishment. He administered the stick to them with his own hands, and this morning, alluding with great good humour to the circumstance, begged me " in future to treat him as a friend and thrash his men without ceremony ! "

After breakfast I took up the great land dispute between Mullick Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, and Mullick Sher Must Khan, Bunnoochee. Having appointed four *moonsiffs* I mounted my horse, and, accom-

panied by General Cortlandt and the contending parties, rode over the ground. It proved to be an enormous plain of excellent land, thrown out of cultivation by their mutual feuds; and the inspection occupied all the day. The circumstances of possession and proprietary are so intricate and so variously stated that nothing but an arbitrary settlement can be hoped for. I was quite surprised to find to what an extent Vizeeree encroachment has gone in this *tuppah.* Scarcely half of Jhundoo Kheyl can now be left to the Bunnoochees, but the colonies of their enemies are not of yesterday; their snug forts bear marks of having been here for years, so that all that can be done is to assure the Bunnoochees that they will only be called upon to pay revenue on the land they are in possession of.

As the measurement of the 20 *tuppahs* of Bunnoo will take a considerable time, I directed General Cortlandt to set his *jureeb-kushes* to work to-morrow, and begin with Jhundoo Kheyl.

Held a Durbar to receive the officers of the united force.

Received a great *zeeafut* of Cabul fruits from Sirdar Sooltan Mohummud Khan, who had sent it by his son. Asked General Cortlandt to distribute it among the officers.

After due consideration of the instructions given to Lieutenant Taylor, I thought it best, as he did himself, that he should return to Peshawur without delay. This he proposed doing with Sirdar Yaheyah Khan (a son of Sooltan Mohummud Khan) to-morrow, escorted by 50 horsemen. This seemed to me quite an inadequate guard, though the Barukzye Sirdars affect to be offended at the least doubt of the security of their Khuttuk hills. I desired, therefore, Sirdar Khwajah Mohummud Khan to send 200 sowars (besides Yaheyah Khan's 50) and 20 *zumboorahs* along with Lieutenant Taylor to Peshawur; and as this unexpected call for a contingent of 1,000 men has, I hear, disturbed Sooltan Mohummud's revenue arrangements, I excused the return of these 200 sowars to Bunnoo. The remainder are quite sufficient for our purposes.

11th December 1847.—Last night while reading in bed, General Cortlandt surprised me with a visit to inform me that Mullick Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, had positively refused to send any man with the *jureeb-kushes* to-morrow to point out the Vizeeree lands; and declared,

moreover, that the Vizeerees had never in the memory of man paid any revenue and never meant to. This was bringing to a crisis rather sooner than I had expected the difficult question of the Vizeeree lands in Bunnoo; but as it must be settled at some time, perhaps the sooner the better. Ordered a halt, and determined on the slightest appearance of refractoriness to attack a considerable Vizeeree fort which I had passed in yesterday's ride.

The first thing this morning I sent for Mullick Swahn Khan, and in the presence of General Cortlandt and Lieutenant Taylor asked him what he meant by his observations of last night to General Cortlandt. He began by repeating that the Vizeerees as a people had ever been independent, and never paid revenue even to the Kings of Cabul in the height of their power; moreover, the lands they hold in Bunnoo had originally been bought on the mutual understanding that the Bunnoochees were to pay the revenue! In reply I told him "that the argument was a very good one so long as the Vizeerees confined themselves to their own country, where even I recognised their independence, but that when they came down to Bunnoo they must do as the people of Bunnoo do. The Vizeerees by hook or by crook have got possession of one-third of the valley, and they must consider themselves fortunate that, agreeable to my instructions, I shall confirm all possession of five years' standing; but it must at once be distinctly understood that this is considering them as ryots instead of robbers, and on the sole condition that as ryots they pay revenue in the same proportion as their neighbours; that if this was displeasing to their mountain pride, the alternative was open to them of going back to their barren and independent hills where *hakims* and laws are unknown, and restoring the fertile lands they hold to the delighted Bunnoochees. Again and again I repeated that no Vizeeree should live in Bunnoo, who did not own the Maharajah for his lord and pay revenue like his neighbours."

This brought the Vizeeree to his senses, and he began to inquire what revenue was required of them. I then disclosed to him the plan which I had decided on in my own mind after riding over the "Thull" during the last week, *viz.*, "to set apart the whole of the extensive pastures called 'The Thull,' which lie between the Khuttuk hills on the east, the Koorrum on the west, Michun Kheyl on the south, and

the *débouché* of the Koorrum out of the Salt range on the north, for the use of the Vizeeree tribes, making Swahn Khan the responsible Mullick of the whole. On what little of the Thull is now, or may be brought, under cultivation by Vizeerees or tenants under them, a money equivalent for one-sixth of the produce, the soil being entirely dependent on rain ; but with respect to all lands in Bunnoo proper, *i.e.*, in the *tuppahs*, the Vizeerees must pay the same as the Bunnoochees. I said I should be glad if these terms were accepted, as it would settle the everlasting broils between the Vizeerees and the Bunnoochees and provide for the wants which drove the former down into the plains ; but that I was prepared to go through with the alternative, and would exert my whole energies to expel the Vizeeree tribes not only from Bunnoo but from the Thull itself."

Swahn Khan had too much sense not to perceive in this the benefit of his people and his own personal aggrandisement, and gradually settling into a businesslike discussion of details he asked "What about our flocks in the Thull ?" I replied, "Every year when the Vizeerees came down with their herds to the plains, their Mullicks must wait upon the Kardar of Bunnoo, register their names, numbers and herds, and present a *nuzzurana* of so many sheep and oxen as I might fix, as an acknowledgment of submission." After a hard fight about a collection in money and a collection in kind, the Mullick at last consented on his own part ; but said that he was quite unable to answer for the other tribes, whose Chiefs he would collect and give me a final answer in a week. With this understanding the interview ended more satisfactorily than I had expected ; but still not by any means put out of doubt. The affair is one of great importance and moment, and I feel a deep interest in bringing it to a successful conclusion ; but it is absolutely necessary for the settlement of Bunnoo that no tribes, however numerous, rude and lawless, should share with the Bunnoochees the same plain, and not submit to the same law. The alternate cowardice and brutality which Sikh Sirdars and armies have exhibited in Bunnoo have naturally inspired the belief in both Bunnoochees and Vizeerees that this valley may be harried, but cannot be held, a mistake which can only be made apparent by asserting with a high hand the fearlessness and perfect superiority, as well as impartiality, of what they call "the Aieen of the Sahiblog." The result rests with

the Vizeerees; but I cannot believe till I see it that a pastoral people, whose existence depends upon their flocks, and who have been 30 or 40 years fighting inch by inch for the footing they have obtained in the plains, will consent to resign in a day their hard earned lands because a small portion of the produce is to be demanded of them for the future. The idea, however strange, is one to which they must reconcile themselves, and which a very few years of strong and just government will make familiar and easy.

The above affair was so threatening that Lieutenant Taylor very kindly delayed his intended departure for Peshawur in case an immediate collision should render his assistance valuable, but the discussion terminated so favourably that he set off with Sirdar Yaheyah Khan, 250 sowars and 20 *zumboorahs*. He proposes making Kohat in three days.

To-day was appointed for hearing the zumindars of Kolachee and their Chief, Gooldad Khan. When General Cortlandt arrived at Dera Ismail Khan he found it necessary to mediate between the Khan and his ryots, and it was finally settled that whereas the land revenue had hitherto been only one-sixth of the produce and the rest made up in cesses without number, so for the future one-sixth should be levied on the land and only so much in cesses as should be deficient in the amount of the *moshuksah*, 48,000 rupees. From this agreement Gooldad Khan had departed by levying certain cesses before he had collected the one-sixth and knew what it would amount to. Against this the people appealed. The evidence showing that the accusation was true, I fined Gooldad Khan 500 rupees and carried it to the credit of the people in the revenue. The Resident in his letter No. 214 gives me authority to oust Gooldad Khan altogether; but as he is a mere cipher, a good man misled by bad advisers who practise on his ignorance, I am reluctant to deprive the family of their inheritance until all remedies have failed. I have therefore dismissed the two men who have hitherto conducted Gooldad Khan's affairs, and have made his nephew, Kalloo Khan, a very intelligent and energetic young man, his Kardar for the future, telling him that Gooldad Khan's continuance in the *moshuksah* depends on the report I hear when I go to Kolachee; but that he must consider the interest of Gooldad Khan his own, for if the country is taken from the Khan, his whole family will fall with him, and the

country be given to a Kardar. With this arrangement the zumindars were satisfied and return to-morrow to Kolachee with Gooldad Khan and Kalloo Khan.

The *jureeb-kushes* have returned, after measuring 189 *kunahls* of ground, so that the ice of the Bunnoo settlement may be considered broken.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,

Assistant Resident.

No. 8.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 12th and 13th of December 1847.

12th December 1847.—Advanced a few miles up the left bank of the Koorrum and encamped nearly opposite Bazaar, the capital of Bunnoo. While the tents were being pitched I rode across the river to see whether it would afford good passage to the guns. The wide pebbly bed of the Koorrum is now almost dry, and traversed only by two or three narrow currents of no depth. When the snow melts in the hills it is a sea. I extended my ride to the town of Bazaar and accompanied by its Mullick, Lal Baz Khan, visited the chief streets, which are filled with shops. The trade is entirely in the hands of Hindoos, and the wise moderation which the Khan shows towards this class has gathered a thriving community of Buniyahs about him. Our sepoys were wandering about marketing in the town as peaceably as if they were at Lahore, and it is strange that they themselves cannot see that this state of security is the natural result of the discipline in their own camp. Plundering the inhabitants being forbidden, the inhabitants have no personal injuries to revenge upon our sepoys. In former times, when everything in Bunnoo was lawful prey, no Sikh could leave the camp alone and scarcely a day passed without an assassination. Yet they resolve it all into "Ikbal"—that charmed atmosphere which is supposed to surround the British. I have informed Lal Baz Khan that I shall be obliged to abolish the customs which form the bulk of his income, but of course shall make it up to him in other ways. His dues are one rupee's worth out of every twenty rupee's worth of corn, etc., brought to Bazaar for sale, and one pice

out of every rupee of retail traffic in the town. Besides this he receives 40 rupees from every Hindoo on occasions of marriage. Last year these dues were farmed for 1,400 rupees and this year for 1,600 rupees.

The *jureeb-kushes* were at work all this day and measured about 700 *kunahls* more of *khurreef* cultivation in Jhundoo Kheyl, making nearly 900. This they say is not quite one-third of the *khurreef* of the *tuppah*, so that the *khurreef* of the whole *tuppah* may be calculated at a rough guess to be nearly 3,000 *kunahls*. At this rate the 20 *tuppahs* would yield 60,000 *kunahls* of *khurreef* harvest; but Jhundoo Kheyl is by no means a large *tuppah*. Nothing can exceed the richness of the land, and I cannot remember any part, either of the Punjab or Upper India, where such an extent of sugarcane meets the eye. Turmeric too, one of the most valuable of crops, grows here abundantly. Several *jureeb-kushes* have been discovered in the regiments and we hope to have five or six different parties at work to-morrow in as many *tuppahs*.

The reason I now find why the *jureeb-kushes* did not get through 200 *kunahls* the first day was that half the day was consumed in a "Jirga" or council held by the Vizeeree proprietors on the ground as to whether they should permit or resist the measurement. In the course of it they bitterly accused Sher Must Khan, the Bunnoochee Mullick of the *tuppah*, for bringing this calamity upon them. He defended himself by retorting that they had had their day, had long enjoyed his lands while he paid the revenue; but now it would be seen what land every man had, and the saddle would be put on the right horse. The Vizeerees, however, were of opinion that as a Puthan he should have united with them for once to oppose the common enemy. Nevertheless the result of the deliberation was a vote to let the measurement proceed and see what will come of it. A deliberative "Jirga" of the heads of all the Vizeeree tribes is now being called by Mullick Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, at my desire, and when they are assembled I shall lay before them a written statement of the terms on which alone they will be permitted to retain their Bunnoo lands. Meanwhile I have active spies among their forts.

In the evening I had before me one of the innumerable family broils which are the disgrace of Bunnoo, rendering the valley

notorious even in the Daman for disunion, ill-blood and unnatural feuds. I have before noticed in my Diary that Sher Must Khan, the Mullick of Jhundoo Kheyl, has been expelled from all his forts by two refractory nephews, during my absence at Lahore. One of the first things I did was to order the nephews to turn out, and make restitution, and then come and lay their claims before me. They obeyed the order promptly, and I am now trying to adjust the family dispute by a mutual recognition of rights. Both parties gave in to my views and retired to make an amicable arrangement, which is to be reported to me when completed. These cases are very troublesome ; but I encourage the Chiefs to bring them to me, as it is good that they should begin to look to the lawful authorities as the source of justice, and leave off appealing to arms. The reduction of the forts will, I have no doubt, put an end for ever to faction fights.

13th December 1847.—Marched across the Koorrum to Mumush Kheyl in one of the Daood Shah *tuppahs*. On arriving we found rivulets of irrigation bearing down upon our encamping ground like so many serpents! In another hour the spot would have been flooded. The neighbouring forts are occupied by those worst of vagabonds, Syuds, and they played us the very same trick last spring on this encampment. I repeated therefore the punishment which they then got, by entering their fort and driving out the male population to labour with their own hands at damming up the streams. Such repeated opposition, however, deserves to be made a severer example of, and I shall take care that these particular Syuds get no privileges of *Dhurmurth*. In the evening the same people refused to sell grass and wood to the troops, and General Cortlandt, after fruitless negotiation during the day, was obliged to bring the refractory head of the village to me. As he had no excuse to plead, I had him tied up and flogged, and then released him with a warning that, if in the course of an hour his people did not bring out the necessary supplies, I would let loose the troops to help themselves. The whole of the Artillery horses and Cavalry had remained without fodder the whole day, and the soldiers without food, being unable to cook for want of wood, which they dare not steal for fear of severe punishment. The castigation of the Mullick had the desired effect and grass and wood poured in to camp instantaneously. The Daood Shah *tuppahs* which we have now

entered are the most notorious in Bunnoo for violence and impatience of control, and they boast of having produced Dillassah Khan, who is now about to close a life of rebellion in exile. I have tried to induce him to come in and spend the rest of his days in peace ; but as yet he has not arrived, and I fear to-day our near neighbourhood decides his flight.

All the Mullicks of Bunnoo against whom there is a balance came in a body to petition for a reduction on account of the crops which were cut by us in the spring, and as the corn was sold in camp, and the proceeds regularly carried to the credit of Government, I distributed the amount among the *tuppahs* which had suffered. I expected that the Mullicks had come with a more preposterous proposition, for they held a "Jirga" yesterday in which they unanimously voted themselves "asses" for having rejected my offered *moshuksah* of 40,000 rupees in the spring, and agreed to make one more attempt to escape the heavy consequences, which have now fallen on them, by offering to pay up their arrears at once, and advance 20,000 rupees upon the spot, if the proposed fort is given up and the *moshuksah* again offered to them ! Their repentance comes too late, and the "paimaish-i-zumeen" is daily revealing the wealth of the country its foolish inhabitants have compelled us to occupy.

Waris Khan, the man who was appointed Killahdar of Tak last July, arrived in camp to-day, having spent the intervening time upon the road. His place having been filled *pro tempore* by a more unpretending personage who has given much satisfaction, General Cortlandt has told Waris Khan for the present to take up his residence at Lukkee, till orders respecting him can be received.

I hear that General Bishen Sing's and Miher Sing's half regiments have both arrived at Lukkee. The latter has made constant reports of his progress to me and does not seem to have dallied very much upon the road ; but I cannot say the same of Bishen Sing, who moreover has not once reported to me either his starting from Meeanee or his progress by the way, though I particularly ordered him to do so, and procured him money from Misr Rulla Ram to enable his men to march. Bishen Sing is an intelligent young fellow, of not very steady habits, and being nephew of Rajah Tej Sing conceives himself at

liberty to despise orders. A good lecture from the Resident would probably save him from some day losing his regiment. His present neglect justly deserves notice, and I must censure him myself before the officers of the force on his joining camp.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 9.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 14th and 15th of December 1847.

14th and 15th December 1847—Camp Mumush Kheyl.—These two days have been entirely consumed in reconnoitring the country as far as the *débouché* of the river Koorrum from the hills, in search of a site for our fort, and making the revenue settlement of Esau Kheyl. Both will be subsequently matter for report.

On the evening of 14th December General Cortlandt by my desire gave out to the various *tuppahs* notice of their arrears, and the Syuds and others of Mumush Kheyl, who ran away last spring, and consequently have now to pay, evacuated their forts in the night and absconded. Accordingly I ordered the fortifications to be levelled and the villages to be laid open, and put sentries over the empty houses to protect the woodwork from plunder.

As for the people running away, it is ridiculous. In a season when intense cold drives the Vizeerees down into Bunnoo and other plains to feed their flocks, where are the Bunnoochees to resort to? The Mumush Kheylees are snugly quartered in other *tuppahs* and will return quietly when their crops grow up. Assuredly they will not then escape payment of their arrears with interest. Meanwhile, I shall issue a proclamation forbidding any one to harbour them and fine any *tuppah* against which it is proved. Indirect opposition of this kind must be expected at every step, and all we have to do is to meet it cheerfully with such resources as are in our power. Gradually I have every confidence that the most obstinate of the Bunnoochees will be obliged to yield to the steady and irresistible influence of law and discipline.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 10.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 16th and 17th of December 1847.

16th December 1847—Camp Mumush Kheyl, Bunnoo.—Rejected 8 tattoos, 2 mules and 18 horses out of General Cortlandt's Artillery and directed them to be sold by auction. One horse with the glanders was ordered to be shot. The whole lot were broken down and unable to work, though receiving food daily at the Government expense.

Some Lohanee *paiadas* arrived in camp to seek service, and General Cortlandt selected from among them about 15 to fill vacancies in various forts.

As I thought it right not to pass over in silence the contumacy of the Mumush Kheylees (who have evacuated their villages to escape payment of arrears of revenue), I this day published the following notice concerning them :—

"*Proclamation to the people of Bunnoo.*"

"The people of Mumush Kheyl have run away from their villages to avoid payment of their arrears ; but as at this season when the Vizeerees themselves are obliged to seek the plains, Bunnoochees cannot fly to the hills, it is certain that the Mumush Kheylees are hiding in the other *tuppahs* of Bunnoo.

"This is therefore to give notice that in whatever *tuppah* the fugitives of Mumush Kheyl, or any other revenue defaulters, are now, or at any future time, harboured, that *tuppah* I shall hold responsible for the arrears of the runaways.

"And let no one think that such a fact can long be concealed. The divisions and jealousies and backbitings among yourselves are such that whatever is done amiss in one *tuppah* is sure to be told me from another.

"If I liked I could cut off the irrigation of the fields of the Mumush Kheylees, and effectually punish them by ruining their crops ; but I prefer letting them grow, as when they are ripe I will levy the arrears with interest.

"HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident."

Yesterday the Khutrees of the town of Bazaar closed their shops and refused to sell *attah*, except privately at an advanced rate, pretending that their Khan had forbidden them to sell at all. Had them all up along with the Khan's brother (the Khan being engaged with the *jureeb-kushes*), and after enquiry, being fully satisfied that it was nothing but an attempt on the part of the Buniyahs to raise the price of corn, I fined them 100 rupees. As soon as I have time I must do away with the customs, establish a Cotwal, etc.

17th December 1847—Camp Mumush Kheyl.—The fugitives of Mumush Kheyl are already making overtures to return, and the Mullicks of the other *tuppahs* have come to the resolution to expel them, as it is sufficient to pay their own revenue without being held responsible for others.

This morning I paid a visit to Sirdar Khwajah Mohummud Khan.

The Vizeeree Chiefs having at length assembled, the "Jirga" was held at my tent this day, terms laid before them, and finally accepted. Particulars are given in the accompanying public letter and translation of the terms offered.

General Bishen Sing and his regiment arrived in camp. As yet I have not seen him, but I hear he declares he has been marching ever since he got money to pay his men. In that case he has been ever since 20th of November on the road, or nearly a month making 12 easy marches.

Ram Sing, Kardar of Kuchee, complains that the refusal of the zumindars to accept Mr. Bowring's settlement has put a stop also to the collection of the *khurreef* and he applies for "a force" to coerce the people. The zumindars of Kuchee are of old "zor-tulub" and I can easily understand the necessity of a few sowars and footmen, but to trust the same to Ram Sing is out of the question. I have therefore requested General Cortlandt to despatch Waris Khan (a Thannadar appointed to Tank last August, but who has only arrived a few days ago and is now not at all wanted) with his hundred *Mokhtuhs* and a few sowars to Mr. Bowring, who I suppose is still somewhere about Kuchee, and to whom I have written on the subject. Should the zumindars of Kuchee succeed in getting a reduction of their revenue from Lahore, the example will be most mischievous in this part of the country.

In the evening visited the spot where it is proposed to build the fort and where measurements have been going on all day to test the ground. The site finally decided on, and the foundation will be commenced to-morrow.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 11.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 18th and 19th of December 1847.

18th December 1847—Camp Mumush Kheyl, Bunnoo.—Last night, a sepoy of the Mussulman Regiment was robbed and murdered within half a mile of the camp. His body has nine wounds from a spear and four from a sword. From the evidence of a comrade it appears that together they had gone to the town of Bazaar for the purpose of buying grain, the grinding of which detained them so long after hours that it was agreed between them that one should return to camp and state where the other was. It is not quite clear whether the sepoy who staid with the flour was to stay all night at Bazaar or come on as fast as his burden permitted ; but he seems to have adopted the latter course and to have fallen in with the robbers on the road.

As an example is everything at first, I at once offered a reward of 500 rupees for the discovery of the murderers ; and the track being taken up was pursued all day till dusk, and will be resumed to-morrow.

From the track there appear to have been four men, three footmen and a sowar; one of the former is badly wounded, and after in vain trying to keep up with the others in the flight was at last taken up behind the sowar while the two others held on by the two sides of the saddle, and the whole moved on at an accelerated pace as if afraid of pursuit. This makes the track strong and peculiar, and I am not without hope that the murderers will be ultimately brought to justice. In that case, considering that Bunnoo is to all intents and purposes under military law, and that an immediate example is required to save further bloodshed, I have made up my mind to encounter the responsibility of executing them as soon as the evidence is complete. I regret this affair much. The general feeling of the country is peaceable in the extreme, from a conviction that opposition is useless, and that individual misconduct will be severely punished. The security of the country is

shown in the continual intercourse between our people and the natives, both in and out of camp. Sepoys and camp followers wander for miles in search of wood, or cheaper grain, with perfect impunity during the day, and last market day at Bazaar thousands of mountaineers from the surrounding hills came as usual to make their purchases and sell their sheep, while hundreds of our soldiers mingled in the crowd. Security as usual begets carelessness, and disregarding the camp rules which forbid soldiers to go abroad except in parties, and then only during the day, the men begin to take liberties and expose themselves to such attacks as the fatal one of last night.

When one considers that there is not a Bunnoochee or Vizeeree in the valley who is not a robber whenever he can get the opportunity, it is wonderful that more such accidents have not occurred.

At noon this day was laid the foundation of the Sikh fort. All the officers attended and the ceremony was performed with all the punctilios deemed essential on such an occasion, oil being poured out over the foundation, *goor* and sweetmeats distributed to the workmen, etc. The fort was then named "Duleepgurh," and a royal salute of 21 guns fired in honor of the Maharajah. To-morrow we move our camp to the spot so as to be able to superintend the building.

19th December 1847.—Camp "Duleepgurh."—This morning moved about a mile to the site of the fort.

The track of the sepoy's murderers was resumed at daylight and carried on till dusk to a spot which is in the centre of four or five forts, into one of which probably the fugitives will be traced to-morrow.

Resumed the Esau Kheyl settlement and got through several districts.

Late in the evening had a Durbar of all the officers of the camp, at which General Bishen Sing being questioned as to his dilatory march, confessed his error and received from me a severe lecture, wherein I contrasted his march along the plain from Pind Dadun Khan with that of the Peshawur force through the Pass of Kohat under difficulties of great magnitude, which they cheerfully met and overcame. In consideration of the excellent conduct of his regiment in Bunnoo last spring, I said I would not ask the Resident to take further notice of the matter, though a rebuke might be expected from the Durbar.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 12.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 20th and 21st of December 1847.

20th December 1847—Camp Duleepgurh, Bunnoo.—This day was entirely occupied with the settlement of Esau Kheyl and hearing *urzees*.

21st December—Duleepgurh.—Same work great part of the day. The extraordinary complication of the Esau Kheyl revenue is of itself enough to have prevented prosperity and the labour is very great of unravelling it, but ultimately I believe we shall be able to reduce the whole under one head without injury to the rights of the Esau Kheyl family.

The different sides and towers of the new fort were this day portioned out to the regiments to superintend and work at. Our great want now are tools, but I think six weeks will see Duleepgurh far towards completion.

The old white-bearded *Motbir* of the Nawab of Dera, who used to haunt the staircase of the Lahore Residency, appeared this day with a *morasilah* and intimated (as usual) that he had some representations to make at leisure. I took the opportunity of telling him that though by the terms of his jageer the Nawab is not bound to furnish a contingent, he ought to keep up as many followers as are necessary for the business of his own jageer and not call upon the Nazim for sowars except on any emergency.

Last night I put together an *ishtihar* on the subject of *adawlut* and general measures necessary for introducing something like law and order into Bunnoo; this morning I translated and published it. The following is a literal translation :—

"*Proclamation to the people of Bunnoo.*"

"1. Henceforward all authority, and the administration of justice, is in the hands of the Nazim, who represents the Sirkar, or in his absence the hands of the Kardar.

"2. Mullicks of *tuppahs* have no authority except to carry out orders of the Nazim or Kardar and to collect the revenue of their respective *tuppahs*.

"3. Any Bunnoochee or Vizeeree therefore who has a suit or complaint to prefer, let him go to the Nazim or Kardar and give in a written representation.

"4. Law and justice being obtainable by all, recourse to arms for the settlement of disputes is henceforth forbidden. Any person violating this rule is liable to be punished as a murderer, and, if not hanged, will be imprisoned for a term of years, perhaps for life. And let no man think that he will only be fined for cutting and wounding others. Fines will never be received in compensation of blood.

"5. When any murder or robbery is committed in or near a village, the Mullick and people of that village will be held responsible either to produce the murderers or robbers, or to carry the track beyond their boundary. And the Mullick of every village will be fined if he does not give immediate information to the Mullick of the *tuppah* to which he belongs, who will inform the Kardar or be similarly punished. It is impossible for a robber or a murderer to bring home cows, horses, sheep, money, or other plunder, without its being known in his own village; and villages will accordingly be held responsible in twice the amount of property stolen if they do not give information against the guilty parties.

"6. These rules, the probability of discovery, and the certainty of punishment, being sufficient protection for the lives and properties of individuals, no man, whether Bunnoochee, Vizeeree, or other resident in Bunnoo, except the military or police servants of Government, have any occasion to carry musket, sword, spear, pistol, knife, or any other weapon, and wearing arms is accordingly forbidden. Any person violating this law will be considered to do so with evil intent, and will be imprisoned, fined, or otherwise severely punished.

"7. The above rule applies equally to strangers entering Bunnoo and particularly to those hill tribes who on every Friday come in great numbers to buy and sell in the town of Bazaar. The protection of the stranger is as much the care of the Sirkar as the protection of the ryot, so long as he does not take up arms to defend himself.

"8. Any person who is not satisfied of the ability of the Sirkar to protect his village from inroads is at liberty to keep arms in his own

house; but whoever is satisfied with the protection of the law will be allowed to give in his arms in part payment of arrears of revenue at a fair valuation.

"9. All duties on corn are henceforward abolished, as also all other cesses paid to the Mullicks of *tuppahs*, who will receive compensation from the Sirkar after due enquiry. Any Mullick convicted of levying duties from Hindoos or others will be severely fined, if not deposed.

"10. Any Mullick, or ryot, who shall stop up the waters, or cut away the dams, so as either maliciously to dry up or flood the fields of his neighbours, shall be fined twice the amount of the damage so occasioned, and the Mullicks of *tuppahs* more particularly are held responsible for looking after the irrigation.

"11. All lands that have been held for five years shall be confirmed to the present possessors; but any land disputes of a more recent date will be heard, if brought forward at once, and settled by arbitration. Any not brought forward within six weeks after this Proclamation will not be heard, except sufficient cause be shown, such as absence in another country, etc.

"12. All Syuds, Ooluma, Foozla, Fukeers or other holders of hitherto *mafee* lands, will attend at the time of the *jureeb-kushee*, and point out their lands, and when the extent of those lands has been ascertained by measurement, they must within 20 days of the said *jureeb-kushee* give in to the Nazim or Kardar a written statement of the said lands, together with the sunnuds, or other authority by which they are held, and when all these claims shall have been given in they will be considered first, collectively, with reference to the proportion they bear to the produce of the whole valley; and secondly, individually, with reference to the character and loyalty of the holders. For it would neither be reasonable to throw away one-third or one-fourth of the Sirkar's revenue, nor wise to show kindness to such rebels as the Syuds of Mumush Kheyl. No claims will be registered after 20 days from the *jureeb-kushee*.

"13. Any zumindar, Syud, or other holder of land, who shall run away to escape payment of revenue his lands and property shall be considered forfeited thereby to the Sirkar, who will either sell the same or give them to well-wishers of the Government on payment of arrears.

"14. Any *tuppah* which shall harbour revenue defaulters or other public offenders, shall be held responsible for the claims against such persons, and any Mullick who does not give speedy information of such persons being concealed in his *ilakah* will be removed forthwith.

"15. The crimes of *suttee*, child murder and slave dealing are forbidden to Hindoos and Mussulmans under the severest penalties.

"16 The *begaree* system will not be allowed either to Government officials, Mullicks or anyone else.

"17. The manufacture of arms and gunpowder is forbidden under penalty of 500 rupees.

"18. All weights and measures used by dealers in Bunnoo must assimilate to those in use at Lahore, and none will be allowed to be used which have not been inspected and stamped by the Kardar, under penalty of a fine for each offence.

CAMP DULEEPGURH, BUNNOO : "H. B. EDWARDES."

December 21st, 1847.

Agreed to General Cortlandt's proposition of sending away half the camels to graze in Esau Kheyl as they are doing great mischief and getting little food in this cultivated valley, and should hostilities be necessary part of the force would remain to guard the fort and the rest move out light with little besides magazines.

The chief greybeards of the Syuds and holy men of Bunnoo called on me in a body to request that "all their lands might remain exempt, the same as they are now!" I laughed, and referred the old gentlemen to paragraph 12 of to-day's Proclamation, promising them at the same time that I would give their case a very favorable consideration, if they behaved well.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 13.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 22nd and 23rd of December 1847.

22nd December 1847—Camp Duleepgurh, Bunnoo.—Received an early visit from Sirdar Khwajah Mohummud Khan, who mentioned that

he had not heard from Peshawur for seven days, and seemed rather to have called for the express purpose of making me uneasy on the point. I jokingly conjectured that Sirdar Gholam Hyder Khan, brother of the late Akbar Khan (who is now on an expedition towards Jellalabad), had recovered Peshawur!

In conversation with him about the lands held by Syuds in Bunnoo, I learnt for the first time that the majority of those lands are held in mortgage only, on account of sums advanced by wealthy Fukeers to poor zumindars, on sudden emergency, such as a Sikh visitation, which sums the borrowers are seldom able to repay. The income of the said lands by the law of Mohummud should go towards the liquidation of the debt, but the holy men of Bunnoo are not read in this passage of their *Shurra.*

Miher Sing's Regiment arrived in camp, *i.e.*, between 200 and 300 men, which at present constitute the head-quarters of that corps. The other companies are on detached employ. The officers waited on me and rendered a tolerably satisfactory account of the apparent delay in their arrival. These 200 men were it appears scattered about the district, assisting in the tuhseel at the time of the receipt of the order to march, and ten days elapsed in collecting them.

This evening five sepoys of Man Sing's Regiment came forward, as they said on the part of 100 others, to refuse to work in the erection of the fort. Four were brought to General Cortlandt who brought them on to me. I asked if it was true. They repeated their refusal, and said as before that they spoke not only for themselves but for 100 comrades. I told them they would find it quite sufficient to answer for themselves, and directed General Cortlandt to pay them up and discharge them on the spot, which was done. A question then arose about their Revolution necklaces and *boodkees*, the price of which is cut from all discharged sepoys, unless circumstances seem to require consideration. The present case was not one of that sort, and the result of the balancing of accounts was that the four worthies had to pay 9 rupees each to the Government instead of receiving anything. It was impossible however to leave the matter here; and I thought it by no means improbable that the four discharged men had spoken the truth,

and that they *had* been put forward with the fifth (not forthcoming) to speak as a "*punch*" for many others, if not the whole regiment. This, as is well known, was the ancient system of the Khalsajee, and what ultimately brought ruin on the army and State. Moreover I knew the history of the regiment, which was one of Runjeet's Poorbeeah corps, and always has been on duty in Lahore, lounging about the palace and the bazaars, and sharing largely in the bribes which accompanied each change in the *Vizarut*, or the sovereignty. In those days it was known by the name of Dhokul Sing's Regiment; and this name will recall to mind that it was from this very corps of Poorbeeahs at Lahore that, at the time of the refusal of many of our native regiments to march to Sukkur, a certain number of men from each company were selected and sent to Ferozepore, to spread the disaffection and decoy away sepoys to Lahore, an embassy in which they succeeded to no great extent; but the sepoys who did desert are still in the ranks of the regiment now called Man Sing's. Aware of these facts and that I had a bad lot to deal with, I thought no time was to be lost in bringing them to their senses, or ridding the camp of their presence; for at this distance from support, and in the heart of, to all intents and purposes, an enemy's country, a smouldering spirit of insubordination in one corps might prove fatal to us all, and bring disgrace upon our expedition. I therefore ordered a General Parade for to-morrow morning.

23rd December 1847—Camp Duleepgurh.—At 8 o'clock A.M. the troops were drawn up in a line of contiguous columns at close order in front of the camp. I attended when all was ready, and requested General Cortlandt to call the officers to the front, when I explained to them that my intention in assembling the parade was to ascertain in presence of the whole force the truth or falsehood of the assertion made by the four sepoys yesterday discharged, that they had been deputed to speak for 100 others of their regiment who refused to lend a hand to build the fort. I said that I was unwilling to believe that there was one more sepoy in the whole force who thought his honour consisted in anything but obeying the Maharajah's orders; but if there should be any one, or any number, who refused to assist in throwing up the fort on which the safety of many of the corps now here would depend during the next hot season, now was the time to

say so, and take their discharge, for I would not allow a small party of mutineers to destroy the discipline of the camp.

I recalled to mind the history of Dhokul Sing's Regiment; how little service they had seen and how many privileges they had enjoyed, not the least of which was their having been continued in the service when the necessities of the State had obliged the Durbar to discharge many thousand Sikhs; so that they ought to have been the very last, instead of the first, to grumble at any work they might be called upon to do. I then ordered the Colonel (Man Sing) to go to his regiment and give the whole of them the option of working or being discharged this day. While the Colonel was absent the whole of the officers of the other regiments, among whom was many a white beard, spontaneously bore evidence to its having been the invariable custom of the Sikh army for the soldiers to build whatever forts it might be necessary to throw up in an enemy's country; and they instanced Jumrood, Peshawur, Doond Suhuttee, Mozufferabad, Huzara and others whose names have escaped my memory. They added that at this very moment, the Sikh force in Huzara is building the fort of Gundgurhea with Captain James Abbott. After a short while Colonel Man Sing returned with four sepoys of his regiment whom he said the rest had given up as the real instigators of the whole business, the persons who had induced those yesterday discharged to refuse work, and who had endeavoured to get all to follow their example. One of the four, the Colonel charged with the still graver offence of threatening to cut him down if he did not get out of the way! This was corroborated by the Adjutant, and I immediately ordered the sepoy into irons. Of the other three, one sepoy then stepped forward and solemnly disavowed ever having refused to work; on the contrary, he was quite willing to do so. I allowed him therefore to return to the ranks and confined the remaining two who said they were ready to fight but would not work. Colonel Man Sing declaring that his regiment was now purified, I dismissed the parade, and requested General Cortlandt to assemble a court-martial without delay, of which General Bishen Sing was to be President and every Colonel, Commandant and Adjutant members. This court-martial sat all day, but from want of experience did not confine their investigations to the only point of importance, and to-morrow General Cortlandt is to preside and

conduct the enquiry. I see, however, by the evidence that the whole of No. 4 Company of Man Sing's regiment was absent from the works, and refused to join in them yesterday evening, so that the men who were discharged spoke the truth as I suspected, and a serious mutiny has been nipped in the bud. I shall not drop the matter, but sift it to the bottom, and bring home punishment to the mutineers, however numerous.

The whole force has this day been working at the fort with alacrity, and more progress been achieved than on any previous day, and I must do the other regiments the justice to say that I believe their spirit to be as good as that of Man Sing's is bad. Colonel Lawrence has more than once meditated the disbandment of the latter corps, and when the supernumerary regiments are withdrawn from Bunnoo at the commencement of the hot weather, it would be a pity to allow this regiment to return to Peshawur. If marched to Lahore they might be disbanded, even if a new regiment had to be raised in their place. It is not a little curious, and a complete answer to those who say Sapper and Miner work is degrading to a Poorbeeah, that General Cortlandt's Poorbeeah Regiment, called the Kuthar Mookkee *Pultun*, does more work than any other regiment in the force, in a day, and the superior skill and neatness displayed in the bastion entrusted to them proves that they take a soldierly pride in it.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 14.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 24th and 25th of December 1847.

24th December 1847—Camp Duleepgurh, Bunnoo.—Spent half of this day in hearing the report of three *moonsiffs* appointed to enquire into the *pros* and *cons* of the land dispute between Mullick Swahn Khan, Vizeer, and Mullick Sher Must Khan, Bunnoochee. Both sides deny everything advanced by the opponent, so that there are no facts admitted in common to assist in forming a judgment, and I have now told them both that if they do not appoint their own *moonsiffs* and agree to abide by their decision, I shall myself arbitrarily decide the matter by laying down a boundary in the centre of the disputed tract

which is kept out of cultivation by the quarrel. Accordingly they have gone away to bring an equal number of Vizeeree and Bunnoochee Mullicks, who are to sit in "Jirga" and decide the case.

General Cortlandt requesting my presence at the court-martial, the rest of the day was occupied with going over the evidence and putting questions. It is clearly established that the whole of No. 4 Company, except the officers, struck, but it is also proved that the three prisoners already in confinement and another whose name came out in the enquiry were the ringleaders and promoters of the *émeute*. On the 26th the court will sit again, hear the defence of the prisoners and wind up the proceedings.

Considerable progress has been made in the fort since the strike was repressed and labourers are now beginning to come in from Kuchee, so that I have no doubt the whole inner and outer works will be completed by the middle of February.

25th December 1847—Duleepgurh, Bunnoo.—Being Christmas day, suspended all business, and gave the troops a holiday from the fort.

Received the pleasing intelligence that five Bunnoochees in the *tuppah* Merdan have become *ghazee* and taken an oath on the Koran to assassinate me and General Cortlandt to save Bunnoo from the fate impending over it. A conspiracy of this kind may be expected about once a week. The Bunnoochees are such liars themselves that up to the present time they could not believe I was telling the truth in threatening them with a fort, and now that they see its walls rise steadily, day by day, their hearts sink in an inverse ratio, and even Dillassah Khan, who ran away in the firm conviction that the force as usual would retire after two months and allow him to return "a hero" to his castle, is beginning to send back his people and consider how he may best make his own peace.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 15.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 26th and 27th of December 1847.

26th December 1847—Camp Duleepgurh, Bunnoo.—Having now established ourselves in a standing camp, I have ordered Sunday to be

kept as a holiday for the whole troops. Accordingly the work at the fort was to-day also suspended.

27th December 1847.—Court-martial resumed and concluded. I shall again go over the papers when sent up to me by General Cortlandt and then report the result. The proceedings were interrupted in the middle by an occurrence which I am afraid must often be expected. A Bunnoochee, armed with a naked sword, tried to force his way into the council tent where we were all sitting and inflicted three such severe wounds upon the sentry that he has since died. The disturbance made us all look up, and I called to the sentry to run his bayonet into the fellow, whereupon he brought his musket down to the charge, and other sentries running up to help, the Bunnoochee turned to fly. He had not gone ten yards, however, before a sepoy of Bishen Sing's Regiment seized and knocked him down, and he would have been killed by the excited bystanders in five minutes had I not come up and interposed. Having dragged him into the tent I sent for all the Bunnoo Mullicks in camp to see if they could recognise the assassin, but nobody would own to knowing him. Every Mullick who asked him what fort he belonged to received for answer "If you don't get me released I will say yours;" and the prisoner continued to conduct himself with the same stolid obstinacy throughout. Once he said he was son of a certain Bunnoochee in a certain fort, and I sent off the Mullick of the *tuppah* immediately to make inquiries. To-morrow of course we shall ascertain who he is. Probably he is the first of the five who (in my Diary of 25th December) I reported had sworn to take my life and General Cortlandt's and rid Bunnoo of the fort and force.

I took the opportunity of asking a very disaffected Mullick named Meer Alum, in whose *tuppah* the five *ghazees* were said to live, why he had not reported the same to me? He professed total ignorance of the matter, though General Cortlandt heard of it three days ago Somehow or other this Meer Alum's *tuppah* is connected with all the mischief afloat, and in it the track of offenders is invariably lost as was the case with the murderers of the sepoy on the night of 17th December. I thought therefore the sooner he was brought to his bearings the better, and now told him that unless he produces the murderers of the said sepoy I will depose him at once from his *mulkeeut*. He left camp instantly.

The day's disasters were not yet closed. About 8 P.M. a drummer of Bishen Sing's Regiment went out for certain purposes beyond the pickets, where he was beset by three Bunnoochees, against whom he defended himself stoutly till the guard came up to his assistance, but he received a severe cut over the head. This is the warfare of the Bunnoo patriots, and one peculiarly harassing to Regular troops. It offers a melancholy confirmation of my letter of this morning's date.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 16.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 28th and 29th of December 1847.

28th December 1847—Camp Duleepgurh, Bunnoo.—Last night I received an *urzee* from the Chiefs of the upper Meeree *tuppahs* to the effect that the Vizeerees of Bukky Kheyl had once more cut off the water, which by my orders they had released for a day or two. As the seed time is now fast drawing to a close, and the devastation of three out of 20 *tuppahs* in Bunnoo is a serious matter, I resolved to waste no more time in sending orders, but go myself to see the ground and understand the rights of the case. Accordingly at sunrise this morning, accompanied by General Cortlandt, Sirdar Khwajah Mohummud Khan, Sirdar Ram Sing, Chapahwallah, and 150 sowars, I set out for the Meeree *tuppahs*. Their condition too truly proved the complaints of the Chiefs. An extensive plain of arable land lay waste for want of water, and in the midst of the dried up fields the mud forts of the Meerees were in fact besieged by ruin and famine. A more desolate picture I never saw. Crossing the dry bed of the Tochee, from which the Vizeerees had diverted the water, we entered at once upon the fields of Bukky Kheyl, flowing with irrigation and green with young corn. The contrast was complete. As the forts of the Bukky Kheyl Chief were deserted, and two or three of the last straggling Vizeerees were seen making off across the fields to the hills, we pursued our way up the course of the Tochee to the point where I had been told that the water ought properly to diverge to the Meeree *tuppahs*. There we found a *bund* or dam of great size and about 200 yards long, conducting all the

water of the Tochee towards the lands of the Vizeerees and completely preventing a single drop from passing to the Meeree *tuppahs.* Having no tools with us we were obliged to destroy this dam by manual labour, and while one half of our escort crowned the stony hillocks above the dam to guard against surprise, the other half set to work manfully, with spears, daggers and finger nails, to tear down the carefully constructed work. In two hours a dozen breaches were effected and a fine stream of water was flowing down towards the poor Meerees whose gratitude was great. We then set fire to the wood which we had pulled out and retired, reaching camp again at 3 P.M. I also sent Mullick Swahn Khan to summon the Bukky Kheyl Chief, that I may once more warn him against disobedience of orders. The Bukky Kheylees belong to a different division of the Vizeeree nation to the other Vizeerees on the eastern side of Bunnoo, and they promise to be very troublesome. Affairs of more importance, however, must be attended to just now in the heart of Bunnoo; at leisure the outskirts will receive attention, and any punishment I could inflict now would be light in comparison with that which will be in my power when their crops are ripe. To-morrow, however, I shall send another party to complete the destruction of the *bund*, so as to ensure the whole stream of the Tochee to the Meerees during the remainder of the sowing season.

29th December 1847—Camp Duleepgurh, Bunnoo.—The greater part of this day was occupied in taking evidence from the Bunnoochee *ghazee*, his father, and others. The prisoner has now become more amenable and acknowledges that some days ago he entered camp and seeing me sitting out under a *shumiyanah* surrounded by petitioners, the thought entered his mind that it would be easy to kill me. He then proposed the question to his religious adviser in the village "Whether any one killing a *Feringee* would become a *Shaheed*, or blessed martyr?" The *Moollah* replied: "Decidedly, and a very meritorious act it would be. But the Sahibs had a nasty habit of hanging men and exposing their bodies on the gallows, which struck terror and disgust into the hearts of all Mussulmen and terrified them so that nobody liked to become a *Shaheed!*" The same priest seems to have put up an extraordinary prayer before his congregation, appropriate to the dreadful calamity which had fallen upon Bunnoo in the arrival of the *zalim Sahiblog*, and implored the help of God in the crisis. It is not wonder-

ful therefore that the prisoner, who is but just full grown and full of all the pride of youth, should have brooded over these matters, till, as he says, on the day of the murder the fixed determination came into his heart immediately after saying his noontide prayers to go and kill the Sahib. Taking his sword therefore in his hand he went to the camp, and gave away a spare pair of *paijamahs* on the road to another *Moollah* who was at prayer! "Take these," he said, "in the name of God." The *Moollah* replied, "*Kubool!* your prayer is accepted!"—or as some of the Pushtoo interpreters give it: May God prosper your undertaking! Drawing near the camp he threw his scabbard into a sugarcane field, and, hiding the naked blade in his clothes, he entered the lines and came to my tent. Finding I was not there he crossed over to General Cortlandt's tent, and seeing us both there he continued to lurk about endeavouring to get in, but as the court-martial continued he became impatient and asked a Murwutee "if he thought the Sahib was likely to come out?" The Murwutee said "not till the evening." He then made up his mind to force his way in by cutting down the sentry and attacked him as before related.

From this account it is clear that the prisoner was instigated by his *Peer*, and I have sent to arrest him. Could I bring it home to the *Moollah* sufficiently clearly to warrant making an example of him, a stop would be put at once to the martyr mania in Bunnoo, and in all cases of "Shahadut" and "Ghuzza," it seems to me both a sound and just principle that the *Peer* should be considered *particeps criminis* with the *Moreed.*

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 17.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 30th and 31st of December 1847.

30th December 1847—Camp Duleepgurh, Bunnoo.—In my last diary I reported that, after breaking down the Vizeeree dam across the river Tochee, I had sent Mullick Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, to summon the Mullicks of Bukky Kheyl before me. This morning he arrived,

accompanied by about half a dozen Mullicks, the great subdivision of Bukky Kheyl Vizeerees being split into several minor subdivisions, all of which I have now noted down. (In this way I am daily gathering information of the tribes around, whose numerous designations seem at first a confused catalogue, but throughout which in reality reigns the most perfect order and gradation of clans, acquaintance with which is indispensable to a right understanding of the feuds and amities and even land disputes of our new "ryots.") In the course of this explanation it appeared that the dam across the Tochee had been constructed by a comparatively small clan called Khan Kheyl, for the benefit of their own lands; and all the others earnestly exculpated themselves from having had anything to do with it. I therefore imposed a fine of Rs. 50 upon the Khan Kheyl Vizeerees, and desired them to pay it in through Mullick Swahn Khan in five days. The Mullick laughing asked. "Why are they to pay it through me?" I replied, "Because I have made you the head man of the Bunnoo Vizeerees, and all negotiations with Vizeerees are to go through you." He said, "The end of it will be that they will kill me." "In that case the Government will put a fine *mukhburrah* over your remains." The fact is that the mutual independence of the Vizeeree tribes is the very secret of their freedom in their own country, and enables them without clashing or jealousy to unite together on emergency against a common foe. But for these very reasons it is desirable to destroy it; to centre the responsibility of the Vizeerees in Bunnoo in one common Chief and make that Chief by self interest the servant of the Government. I found Swahn Khan looked up to by all the tribes of Vizeerees in these plains. Nominally only Mullick of one small subdivision, but by the force of his personal character, and a high reputation for rectitude, leading all the other clans after him in council, I made him authoritatively what he was in fact before. From that moment of course other Mullicks became jealous of him; but that only binds him to us, and shows him that we are the source of his authority. When the whole of the Vizeeree lands have been measured, I propose to fix a small percentage on Vizeeree payments as the stipend of the Mullick in return for his good offices. He is of great use, remaining in camp and acting as Vukeel of all the scattered Vizeerees about Bunnoo.

Resumed the Esau Kheyl settlement.

31st December 1847—Camp Duleepgurh.—Engaged all day with the settlement of Esau Kheyl.

Received a short visit from Sirdar Khwajah Mohummud Khan, who is beginning to hint broadly his anxiety to get away. He says he has the farm of Kohat from his father, and the collections are all suspended in consequence of his absence and the lack of troops. The Barukzye contingent cannot possibly be spared till we have knocked down the forts; but the Sirdar might be relieved by another son of Sooltan Mohummud, if his own presence in Kohat could be of any use.

HERBERT B EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 18.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 1st and 2nd of January 1848.

1st January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh, Bunnoo.—A salute of 21 guns was fired to usher in the New Year.

Accompanied by General Cortlandt I rode out about five *koss* along the line marked out for our new road from Duleepgurh in Bunnoo to Lukkee in Murwut. It runs in a straight line through the heart of the country, and when completed the distance from Lukkee will be 18 *koss*, or two easy marches. The Mullicks through whose *tuppahs* the road runs have been made responsible for throwing bridges over the canals; but I have advised General Cortlandt not to rely upon these in a time of disturbance, but fit up each troop of Horse Artillery with a portable bridge of its own, each gun carrying one broad plank, and the whole six joining together, when required, with a bolt.

Resumed the examinations in the *ghazee* case. The *Moollah* denies everything except offering up a prayer at the *Musjid* for the salvation of Bunnoo, and on this of course he puts his own construction.

Took the accounts of the *ilakah* of Dera Ismael Khan from Radha Kishen, Dufturee.

2nd January—Camp Duleepgurh, Bunnoo.—Sunday, no business; but Fuzul Ali, a Commandant in the Artillery, who makes himself of use in every line, amused himself with laying out the new town of

Duleepshahr, which is to be situated 1,000 paces from the walls of Duleepgurh, so as to be under fire of our guns, but out of *juzail* range. Should the Bunnoochees therefore ever succeed in getting possession of the town in an insurrection, their fire would not reach the fort. The town will be fortified, and be the only fortification in Bunnoo except our own fort. The Hindoos scattered throughout the *tuppahs* are all ready to take wing and come and settle under our protection, and in six months the town of Duleepshahr will be a thriving place. The relative positions of the town and the fort are described on the opposite page.

General Cortlandt has discovered in conversation with the people that the majority of the arms in Bunnoo are the private property of the Mullicks, who served out muskets and swords to their tenantry like Barons of old wherewith to defend their *gurhees*. This will simplify the disarming of the country amazingly. Some few arms have been brought in part payment of arrears of revenue; but as yet not to any useful extent.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

P.S.—When Zorakhun Sing's Regiment left Lahore it mustered 600 men. From loss by deaths and desertions it now only musters 516. The Colonel brought up before me ten recruits anxious to take service, seven for sepoys, and three for drummers. As I do not exactly know the intentions of the Resident with reference to keeping up Regiments to their proper strength, I told the Colonel I would refer the question to Mr. John Lawrence in Lahore as far as regarded the sepoys; but I sanctioned the entertainment of the three drummers, as there are not enough to carry the drums of the regiment, which get broken in consequence. I shall be glad of instructions on this point.

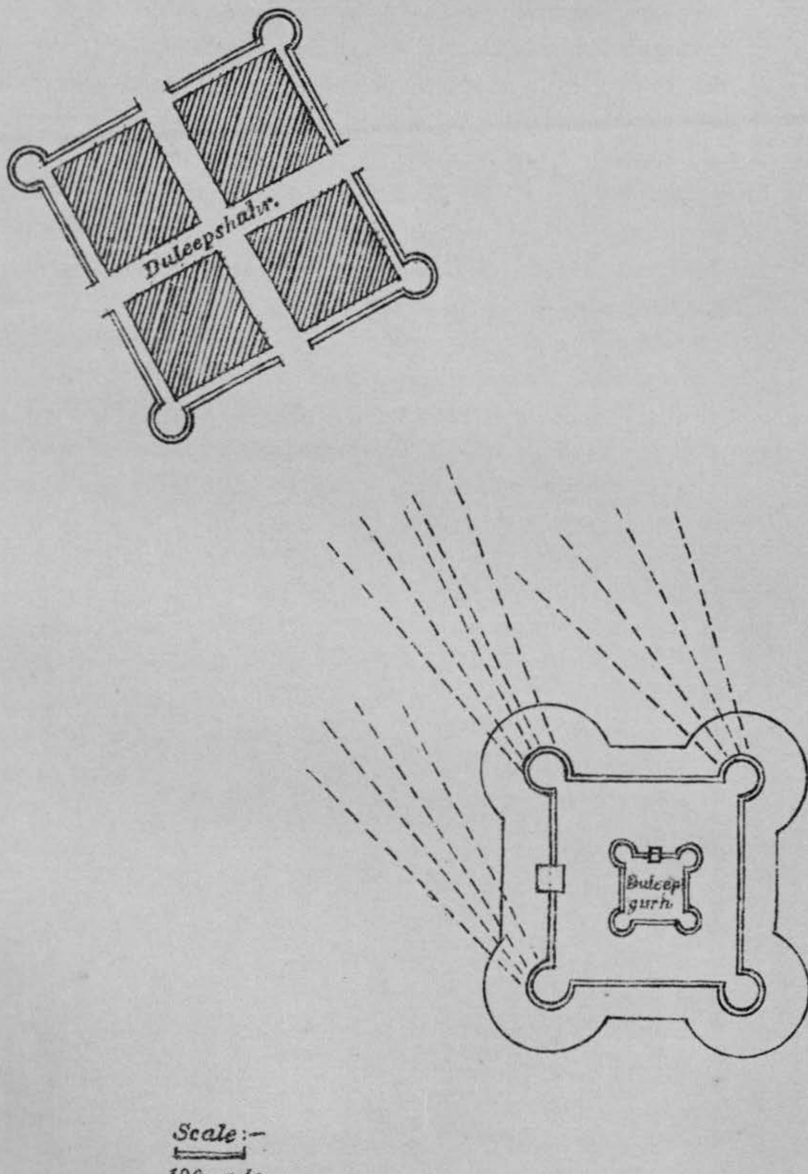
HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 19.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 3rd and 4th of January 1848.

3rd January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—After many fruitless endeavours to adjust the conflicting claims of Mullick Swahn Khan,

Sketch showing the relative positions of Duleepshahr and Duleepgurh.

(Vide page 192.)



Vizeeree, and Mullick Sher Must Khan of Jhundoo Kheyl, to lands in the latter *tuppah*, this morning I took *ikrarnamahs* from both parties, under penalty of 1,000 rupees, to abide by the decision of six *moonsiffs*, who were brought before me; and after duly exhorting the said *moonsiffs* to do justice and show no favour, I started the whole off to Jhundoo Kheyl, with a man of my own to see fair play, and promised to go and see the boundary as soon as it is laid down. The disputed land is so extensive that I was very anxious to get it under cultivation by one party or another and hope the season will yet be saved.

Akhoondzadah Fuzul Ali, *Motbir* of the Nawab of Dera, took his leave this day. I told him that when I go to Dera I will register his master's *sunnuds*.

General Cortlandt sent up to me his decision in the case of the mutineers of No. 4 Company of Colonel Man Sing's Regiment, *viz*., Prag Dutt, to be discharged and imprisoned for four years with hard labour; Sookh Lall, to be discharged and imprisoned two years with labour; Seetul, to be discharged and imprisoned for six months with labour; and Anunt Ram, to be merely discharged. These decisions I confirmed, and, as I have forwarded the vernacular proceedings with my remarks in full to the Resident, I need only add here that it was my intention to have discharged the whole of No. 4 Company, who refused in a body to join the other sepoys in the works; but, as immediately the ringleaders were arrested and brought to trial the others returned to their duty and have been ever since diligently engaged in labouring at that side of the fort, which is apportioned to their regiment, I am willing to believe that they were originally led astray by the ringleaders who are now about to be punished, and that they now repent of their error.

Are English newspapers to be charged in the new Lahore dawk at letter rate? That is now the practice; at least General Cortlandt tells me his are charged so, my own coming under cover from the Residency have as yet escaped! At all events it is contrary to the practice of our own dawk in the Provinces, and as English papers have already paid heavily before they enter the Punjab, to impose a second postage amounts to a sumptuary law against the luxury of news.

30,000 rupees for the pay of the sowars with Sirdar Ram Sing, Chapahwallah, in this camp, arrived under charge of Dufturee Ganga Bishen. The sowars are ten months in arrears. Also the *pethee* arrived

from Dera with 9,000 rupees from Tank and Dera and 68,000 rupees from Mooltan, being pay for the months of *Bhadoon* and *Ussooh*, for General Cortlandt's two regiments of Infantry and two troops of Horse Artillery, a battery of heavy guns, and Zorakhun Sing's Dograh Regiment, all of whom were stationed on this side of the Indus.

Another four months' pay is now nearly due to the force here, and the Peshawur regiments in particular (who have been paid every two months by Major Lawrence), begin to grumble at a delay to which they were formerly well accustomed. Herewith I forward their pay abstracts, of which the following is a summary :—

Pay of all the regiments and Artillery*—Rs. 1,92,522.

The three Peshawur regiments of Infantry, one regiment of Cavalry, and one troop Horse Artillery—Rs. 80,977-8-0.

The three regiments of Infantry stationed in the Dera *ilakah*, Sappers and Miners, two troops Horse Artillery ; one bullock battery, and sundry establishments therewith connected—Rs. 65,884-8-0.

4th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—The headmen of the Povindahs, or Cabul merchants, who arrived yesterday from Dera Ismael Khan, presented themselves this morning, and were loud in their outcry against the change in the customs, and the double exactions to which they are exposed by the unfortunate circumstance of Mooltan and its customs being held in *moshuksah* by Moolraj, while the customs Trans-Indus are held by the Sirkar. The destinations of the Cabul merchants are three—Umritsir, Mooltan and Bhawulpore. (From Umritsir they proceed on to the British provinces.) It is possible for those who are bound for Umritsir to avoid the double line of customs by making a detour to Esau Kheyl ; but even this is as difficult as to turn the old course of a river. Those who go to Mooltan and Bhawulpore have no means of escape, for even if to go to the latter place they should keep on this side of the Indus, and make straight for Mittun Kote where the Indus and the Sutluj unite, they will still be caught by Moolraj in the *ilakah* of Dera Ghazee Khan, which joins that of Dera Ismael Khan in the south. Dewan Moolraj has thus thrown a complete net over the Cabul trade, and there are apparently only two ways of remedying the evil—either to take the customs of

*N. B.—For the months of *Kathik* and *Mughur*.

Mooltan out of Moolraj's *moshuksah* as was orginally intended, or else to reconcile the interests of the Dewan and the Sirkar. The former would be far preferable, and save much money; but the latter is practicable by establishing a mutual customs station at Girang on the border of Ismael and Ghazee Khan, and placing there a *Motbir* of Moolraj's and a *Motbir* of Misr Sahib Dyal's, together demanding from merchants the sums fixed in the new *Aieen*, and then dividing the receipts. An awkward attempt has indeed been made by the Durbar to arrive at this last conclusion, by ordering General Cortlandt to reduce the demand prescribed in the new Regulations by so much exactly as Dewan Moolraj demands on the other side of the Indus, thus thinking to make it the same thing to the trader. But they forget that the two customs are carried on on two very different principles. On the Sirkar's line it is a gross sum paid once for all, and freeing the goods throughout the country. On Dewan Moolraj's line it is on the old system of having customs stations as thick as turnpikes along the high road, and paying at the first clears the goods only up to the next. It is of little avail therefore for the Sirkar to attempt to make allowance on this side of the Indus for the exactions which the trader has to encounter in Mooltan. To do so in reality would be to take nothing from the merchants and leave them to the tender mercies of Dewan Moolraj.

The plan I have suggested is feasible enough, and, as the whole Cabul trade is now at a standstill, and the *kafilahs* encamped in the Dera district in a state of considerable discontent at the loss they are suffering, it would be well to send Dewan Moolraj distinct orders on the subject at once, so as to allow the *kafilahs* to pursue their way. The present opposition going on between the customs officers of Mooltan and those of the Sirkar is both discreditable and ruinous, and the merchants seem disposed next year to turn their money into other channels and pursue the Kandahar-Sindh route to the British provinces.

Another complaint of the Povindahs is the unequal distribution of the duty, or rather its equal distribution on articles of unequal value. They instance the article Aloo Bokhara, which was 5 rupees a maund in the market, but on which the customs duty is now 5 rupees. I said "Raise the price in proportion." They reply "Then no one will buy."

I said "Those only will buy who can afford it, and the demand of course will be much less, but next year your supply will only be in proportion to what you find is the demand at so enhanced a price." But the present loss incurred by having this year brought down unsaleable supplies is so very serious that this argument brings small consolation. The whole matter is so important, and involves so much capital and revenue, that I would take the liberty of suggesting the propriety of deputing Misr Saheb Dyal to Dera, without delay, not only to establish a common customs station Trans-Indus in conjunction with Dewan Moolraj, but to enter into the representations of the merchants and make such modifications of the new Regulations as shall seem to be reasonable and likely to give satisfaction.

A considerable share of the disappointments experienced by the Cabul merchants is the result of the widespread reputation of the British for abolishing duties and removing the restrictions upon commerce wherever their Empire spreads. They remembered that when the *Sahiblog* were in Cabul the customs were abolished, and they fully expected that the same sweeping measure would have been adopted in the Punjab. Unfortunately, the very modifications which have been made in Punjab customs to relieve the Punjab people transferred the load on to the shoulders of the merchants from without, and it seems to them unaccountable that instead of an abolition of duties, an increase on the articles in which they trade should have followed British interference in the Punjab. In vain it is explained to them that the Punjab belongs to the Maharajah and not to the British. A Cabul merchant "at the receipt of custom" is much too excited to recognise the political distinctions of administration for a minor, and appropriation for ourselves. He says "You laid this new tax on me. Therefore you can take it off." It is impossible to alter, for the sake of a class, laws which have been made for the interests of a people, but still the class of Cabul merchants is so very large and the success of the new customs scheme depends so largely on the proceeds from north-western traffic, that prudence alone renders it desirable to conciliate the enterprising and hardy speculators who conduct it.

Misr Saheb Dyal is at once intelligent and diplomatic, and I am sure that a few days spent by him in consultation with the heads of the

various Povindah tribes in the Derajat would bring a rich return into the treasury.

Until the merchants had seen me they refused to pay the grazing tax of *tirnee* to the Kardar of Dera, an item which alone amounts to 10,000 rupees. I have told them they must pay this at once, according to the shares hitherto laid upon each tribe, and they have agreed to do so.

General Cortlandt, under pretence of requiring 1,200 *juzails* for the new fort, has got the Mullicks to offer to procure the following number for purchase :—

From Bazaar *tuppah*, 100 *juzails*, 2 *zumboorahs*.	Jaffir Khan's 2 *tuppahs*, 200.	Shookuroollah Khan, 100.
Meer Alum Khan's, 100.	4 Sooranee *tuppahs*, 400.	Mooseh Khan, 100.
Sher Must Khan, 100.	Zuffur Khan and others, 100.	6 Meeree *tuppahs*, 300.

Sirdar Jewan Sing, Chachee, whose contingent of sowars are on duty with General Cortlandt, has a jageer called Miall between Kuchee and Pindee Gheybee, value 15,000 rupees, in pay of his sowars, but he has as yet not been able to realise either the *rubbee* or *khurreef* of 1904, the zumindars refusing to pay and the Sirdar being afraid to coerce them for fear of complaints being carried to Lahore. Distressed actually for common expenses he has been obliged to borrow money from General Cortlandt, who referred the case to me. I was thinking of writing about it to Mr. Bowring when I heard that that gentleman had already ineffectually remonstrated with the Miall zumindars, and had now left that district. In my Diary of 17th-18th December I reported that Mean Waris Khan with his men had been sent to coerce the zumindars of Kuchee, who had suspended payment of the last *khurreef* until the dispute about the new settlement is adjusted at Lahore; but, agreeable to the orders of the Resident, Mean Waris Khan has since been ordered to consider himself struck off the establishment of Dera and proceed to Lahore. The report of his deputation to Kuchee at once produced a salutary effect, and 10,000 rupees came rapidly into the treasury of Ram Sing Kardar; therefore to keep up this wholesome impression and at the same time meet the wishes of Sirdar Jewan Sing, I have now deputed the latter with 50 sowars and 5 *zumboorahs* from here to join Ram Sing Kardar in Kuchee, who has 35 other sowars,

thus making up a body of 85 sowars and 5 *zumboorahs*. This will be quite sufficient to intimidate the Kuchee malcontents, and when the revenue is once set agoing the Sirdar can at leisure proceed to his adjoining jageer and collect his arrears of rent. Meanwhile I have given him a *purwannah* to the Miall zumindars which I trust will obviate the necessity of any force; but the Sirdar is a steady, respectable man, and I rely upon his not coming to loggerheads unnecessarily either in Kuchee or Miall.

Our fort of Duleepgurh being now sufficiently advanced to afford protection to a regiment in charge of magazine and other stores while the rest of the force moves out to coerce rebels, I have prepared the following Proclamation for publication to-morrow :—

"*Proclamation to the Bunnoochees and Vizeerees of Bunnoo.*

"CAMP DULEEPGURH:

"*5th January 1848.*

"You see that a royal fort is now being built by the Maharajah in Bunnoo, in honour of whom it is called Duleepgurh.

"This fort will be occupied by four regiments of Infantry, two troops of Horse Artillery, 80 *zumboorahs* and 1,000 Cavalry, a force sufficient both to keep you in order and to protect you against your enemies. And as you are forbidden by the Code of laws published on December 21st, 1847, to resort to arms and fight among yourselves, it is no longer necessary that every village should be a fort. Where just laws are in force a Fukeer's *tukeeah* is as good as a castle, because no one dare enter to do him an injury.

"Accordingly, you are hereby ordered to throw down level with the ground the walls of every fort and enclosed village within the boundaries of Bunnoo, and I hold the Mullicks responsible for the carrying out of this order within fifteen days.

"At the end of fifteen days I will move against the first fort I see standing, considering the inhabitants as enemies, and remove every Mullick who has a fortification left in his *tuppah*.

"The seed time is over, and you have nothing to do in your fields. Let the Mullicks therefore of each fort collect the inhabitants and knock down their own walls, so that at the end of a fortnight the villages of

Bunnoo may be open like the villages of Murwut, Tank, Esau Kheyl, and other peaceful countries."

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 20.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 5th and 6th of January 1848.

5th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh, Bunnoo.—Sirdar Khwajah Mohummud Khan returned from a hunting excursion on the border of Murwut and reports more game than cultivation in that direction.

Replied to two letters from Sirdar Sooltan Mohummud Khan. He complains bitterly of his brother, Syud Mohummud, for not furnishing his fair proportion of the contingent here, and thus obliging Sooltan Mohummud to make up the deficiency himself. His request is either that Syud Mohummud's share of the Barukzye jageer be separated entirely from his own, or else that Syud Mohummud be made to furnish the contingent in consideration of which the said share is held. I have replied that the request seems very reasonable, but is quite out of my jurisdiction, and I will report the matter to the Resident, who doubtless will direct Major Lawrence to investigate it. Lieutenant Taylor informed me at the time of joining this force that Syud Mohummud's contingent was deficient; but on the other hand the son of Syud Mohummud complains that Sooltan Mohummud has curtailed his father's share of the jageer, so that it is a case of recrimination, and can only be adjusted by enquiry at Peshawur. The Dooranee contingent hitherto has behaved most admirably, and there seems to me to be a good deal of ability and military intelligence about Khwajah Mohummud, though, I should say, not much solidity of character.

Forwarded to Lieutenant Taylor at Peshawur the Pay Abstracts of the Peshawur regiments and Artillery, for *Kathik* and *Mughur*, with a request that, if the amount had been drawn and received as usual by General Sirdar Goolab Sing, Pohoovindeeah, he would give the necessary directions for remitting the same as soon as possible here,

and, for mutual accommodation, I promised to arrange to relieve any escort he might send with the treasure at Teeree, which is midway between Duleepgurh and Peshawur.

I forgot to report yesterday that an order has reached Sirdar Ram Sing, Chapahwallah, to parade his sowars, as soon as a return of their periods of service can be prepared, and that then the option is to be given to any of them to retire upon a graduated scale of pension. I mention it now because I have some doubt whether the document is worded strictly according to the intentions of the Resident. The object is stated to be reduction, but by the terms of the *purwannah* no sowar need retire unless he likes, however old and unfit for duty, and this being the case I do not expect any will avail themselves of the offer.

This morning was published the Proclamation for knocking down forts, and this evening Lal Baz Khan, who is proprietor of Bazaar, the chief town of Bunnoo, came to beg for a few more days over and above the 15 allowed for the work of destruction, as his town wall and fortifications are very extensive. Of course I granted the request and he went away to set the inhabitants to work.

6th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—Received an early visit from Colonel Man Sing, who came to beg me to permit his Regiment to remain, and overlook their breach of discipline. He urged two pleas: that it was hard for the whole regiment to suffer for the misconduct of one company, and that the corps had ever since been hard at work at the fort.

I replied that I had no discretion in the matter, having received an absolute order to send the regiment to Lahore; but with regard to his two pleas, the first was untrue, as it is allowed that on a former day both the Grenadier and Light Companies had refused to work, and on the day in question No. 4, so that here is the right, left and centre, at once proved mutinous, and it would be strange if the other companies were not infected. Moreover I have since learnt that the whole regiment abused the sepoys of the other corps as they passed Man Sing's lines on their way to work at the fort. And with regard to the regiment having since laboured at the fort, small thanks are due to them for that. When the alternative of immediate discharge was offered to them, the question before them was " Will you work with a good red coat on for comfortable

pay, or will you work in a *dhoteee* like a slave for 3 rupees 12 annas a month and think yourself lucky to get employment?" Nevertheless in summing up the proceedings of the court-martial, after making severe examples of the ringleaders, I gave the 4th Company the benefit of this doubtful merit, and did not take upon myself, as I had originally intended, the responsibility of discharging every man in it. The whole regiment, however, is a bad lot, and to discharge one company or two would be of little use. Poorbeeahs and mutineers, many of them deserters, the weight of present reduction in the army could nowhere fall more fitly than on them, and however humble they may now appear in the sackcloth and ashes of an unsuccessful mutiny, depend on it they are ripe for mischief and not to be relied on for a moment. Colonel Man Sing then pressed me for a recommendatory letter to the Resident, which I positively declined, and told the Colonel that my opinion of him was just this : that he is a very well-intentioned young man and did not in the remotest degree share the spirit of his men, but that somehow or other his men cared no more for his authority than for the regimental big drum. I am sorry for him, but Colonels must stand or fall with their Regiments.

The Chiefs of the Meeree *tuppahs* of their own accord sent deputies this morning along with others from the Bukky Kheyl Vizeerees to say that, since I had broken down the Vizeeree dam across the Tochee and turned the water to the Meeree fields, they had sown the whole of their land and were now willing to share the Tochee with their old enemies, with whom they had come to an amicable understanding. This is very satisfactory, and under the influence of fear (the Vizeerees of me and the Meerees of the Vizeerees) I trust they will now live peaceably together.

The rest of the day was occupied with the Povindahs from Cabul and their numerous complaints.

Wrote to Lieutenant Taylor to inform him of the recall of Man Sing's Regiment and the consequent inutility of sending their pay here.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,

Assistant Resident.

No. 21.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 7th and 8th of January 1848.

7th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—At last the tedious and important dispute between Mullick Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, and Mullick Sher Must Khan, Bunnoochee, concerning the extensive tract of arable land called Sudurawan (almost half the *tuppah* of Jhundoo Kheyl) has been happily settled. The mutual *moonsiffs* returned this morning, after laying down the boundary, and both parties seem satisfied; indeed quite merry at getting rid of a harassing feud, and obtaining peaceful possession of property defined and secured to them by law. A branch of the dispute, however, still remained at issue, the *moonsiffs* being unable to decide it. This referred to an adjoining property called Oozjhdoo, which had been sold, with a doubtful title, by Sher Must Khan's brother to Swahn Khan. The *moonsiffs* so far were agreed that Sher Must should pay Swahn Khan whatever he had given for the land and receive back the estate. But Sher Must represented the purchase money to have been only 320 rupees, whereas Swahn Khan swore to having given 1,020 rupees and no accommodation of this difference could be made. I offered two alternatives to the Mullicks—either to fix the purchase money at 660 rupees, being a medium, or to put the decision to the test of pure chance and draw lots whether it should be 320 rupees or 1,020 rupees. The Vizeerees were highly amused at this idea, and were quite content to rely on their fortune, hitherto very good in Bunnoo, but the Bunnoochees were more prudent and preferred abiding by my decision. Sher Must therefore agreed to pay the money in 15 days and the affair was brought to a conclusion.

Mozuffur Khan, son of the Kalabagh Wallah, came to claim my assistance in the settlement of two villages named Nikkee and Moosawan, near Pukkhur, beyond Kuchee, which are jageers of his father. In the one case, the zumindars of Nikkee had represented themselves to Mr. Bowring as the landholders, and got the village settled and registered in their own names without any mention of their lord, the Jageerdar. Mozuffur Khan had no objection to the settlement, but naturally urged that it should be registered in his father's name. In the case of Moosawan no settlement has as yet been made, but Mozuffur Khan wished Mr. Bowring to make one. I have written to that gentle-

man a *roobukaree* on the subject, and told Mozuffur Khan to send his brother to furnish Mr. Bowring with every information.

I forgot to report yesterday the return from leave of Colonel Budrinath of the Kuthar Mookkee Regiment, an excellent and trustworthy officer. He learnt his duty under General Cortlandt and was employed by that officer as drill instructor of all new levies.

8th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—Clouds have been gathering for some days and rain fell steadily throughout the day. I sincerely hope it will not be confined to Bunnoo, but extend its blessings to Kolachee and Dera, which are in a dreadful state from continued drought.

A good specimen of the old system in Kolachee came before me to-day. On the 11th December 1847 when I patched up a reconciliation for the present between Gooldad Khan and his ryots, I saw that it was absolutely necessary to take him out of the hands of a man named Kadurdad Khan, who was his adviser, factotum and ruin. So I ordered Kadurdad Khan to be excluded from all office and put the Kardaree into the hands of Gooldad Khan's own nephew, Kalloo Khan, who has been doing very fairly since. No sooner had Kadurdad been removed than suitors, whose claims had not been listened to by him, lifted up their heads and called upon the new Kardar for justice. Amongst others was a marriage and forcible abduction case, and Kalloo Khan gave a very proper decision for the restoration of the woman. The offender was a friend of Kadurdad Khan's, and the latter, without any other concern in the affair, armed himself and two or three followers, and opposed the carrying out of the award, so that the peons who were unarmed were repulsed. Kalloo Khan, on hearing this, ordered Kadurdad Khan to be confined, but that individual fled from Kolachee and came with all haste here to claim my protection. After hearing the whole case and the counter representation of Kalloo Khan's Vukeel, the interference of Kadurdad Khan in a police matter with which he was in no way connected seemed to me so very violent and unwarrantable that I confined him, and desired General Cortlandt to forward him to Kolachee to stand the trial from which he had fled, calling at the same time upon Kalloo Khan to report his proceedings therein.

It being necessary to fix some limit for taking up outstanding cases in Bunnoo, I have named the month of *Phagoon* of last year for *Foujdaree* cases, because that was the date of my arrival with the first

Sikh army which can be said to have undertaken the establishment of the Sirkar's authority in Bunnoo; former armies were sent avowedly to lay waste; we came to establish the same relations between the people and the Government as exist all over the Punjab. For *Dewanee* cases I fixed the term of five years, that being the limit named by Colonel Lawrence for land, than which no other property can be more worth consideration.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 22.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 9th and 10th of January 1848.

9th January 1848.—The rain continued all night, but cleared off in the morning, when the sun shone out and showed us the surrounding hills from Bunnoo to Guznee covered with snow.

More assassination. Near camp is a mill where our sepoys go to grind their corn, and last night it appears some Bunnoo "patriots" lay in wait for them going home. Fortunately none of our men happened to be at the mill that evening, but a Khutree of Bunnoo was, and coming out was mistaken for a sepoy and murdered. This is the account at least given by the Mullick of the *tuppah*, who came this morning to General Cortlandt to warn our sepoys against staying late at the mill. Some days ago I got General Cortlandt to send to Dera for two celebrated trackers, who are Government servants there and the terror of the thieves thereabouts, and they are now on their way. By their help we shall, I trust, be able to bring home any future cases of this kind. One or two examples would put an end to this cowardly warfare, but it is saying not a little for the discipline of the camp that during a month's occupation of the valley we have only lost one man by disobedience of regulations.

10th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—To show the Bunnoochees that the order for knocking down forts in 15 days is not meant to be a dead letter, this morning at sunrise, accompanied by General Cortlandt and 50 sowars, I made a circuit through six *tuppahs* to see how the work of demolition was progressing, going down the right and up the left bank of the Koorrum, and reaching camp again at 10 o'clock. The general progress is not great, and, as usual, Lal Baz Khan of Bazaar

having most at stake set the best example. I do not attribute this delay to contumacy and think there will be very few out of the 400 boasted Bunnoo *gurhees* left standing at the end of the time appointed. In the first place it is no easy matter to knock them down. The clay of Bunnoo, in the thinnest layers, defies cannon balls to shake it and spades and pickaxes make slow progress. Secondly, for the first day or two every Mullick of a *gurhee* was looking to see what his neighbour would do, for feuds of years' standing are not to be laid aside in a day and a common cry was "when you knock down your fort I will knock down mine!" The visit of this morning will make all hands set to in earnest and I shall follow it up in other directions, sending parties also daily to each *tuppah* to keep the people at it. Among other forts, I visited this morning two belonging to the Vizeerees and could not but admire the skill shown in the selection of the site, which was a high tongue of the Thull, defended on three sides by a quicksand, in attempting to cross which the leader of our party was nearly lost. I was much struck too with observing several Vizeeree horses out at graze upon the plain without halter or tether of any kind. At our approach they pricked up their ears, huddled together and took a long look at us to make sure of our intention to come their way, when being unanimously of that opinion they wheeled round, picked out a track through the quicksand and galloped off up the hill and into the forts with as much judgment of what was proper to be done under the circumstances as if they had been human Vizeeree sentinels.

Bunnoochee horses, proverbially vicious, if cast loose in this way would use their liberty only to fight and run anywhere rather than to their own *gurhee*. So national is Nature, brute as well as human, and so strongly do the habits of man impress the characters of his brute dependants.

This morning Colonel Man Sing's Regiment made its first march towards Lahore. Yesterday the rain prevented them from moving, but not to lose the *Muhoorut* calculated by their astrologers they sent forward their flag! On the present occasion they were more than usually superstitious on this head, but, inclining on the whole to the belief that they are to be disbanded at Lahore they held an auction and sold off all their pots, pans and superfluous cooking utensils, so troublesome and abundant in every Poorbeeah corps. At this distance from shops they made a very good thing of the sale. General Cortlandt tells me

that Man Sing made a last effort at justification "in arrest of judgment" yesterday and blustered a good deal about "the hardship of a whole corps suffering for one company." General Cortlandt gave him the same answer that I did: "that it was proved at the court-martial that on a former day two other companies had mutinied, and the whole regiment abused the men of other corps for doing coolies' work." Man Singh flatly denied both! General Cortlandt annoyed at his trying to deny now what he had not denied at the court-martial, and what is notorious in the camp, took him up short, and begged that he would put down what he had now said in writing in order that it might be laid before me and an investigation made on the spot before the regiment marched away to where there would be no witnesses against them. But Man Sing declined any farther inquiry, wisely considering that it would only have elicited what it is his constant study to conceal, *viz.*, the rotten and insubordinate condition of his whole Regiment from right to left. This young Colonel is said to be worth not less than five or six lakhs of rupees, the greater part bequeathed by his uncle and predecessor in command of the regiment, Dhokul Sing, who acquired so large a fortune chiefly by escheating to himself the savings, back pay and property, of deceased sepoys of his corps. Being Poorbeeahs there were seldom to be found at Lahore either heirs or relatives, and no questions were asked by the authorities. I find that this same item is a perfect annuity to commanding officers in the Sikh service, and I have put a stop to it here, at all events, by desiring books to be opened in every regiment for estates of deceased men. Should the Resident approve, the order might be made general with advantage.

Occupied the rest of the day with the Esau Kheyl settlement, which has had a hard time of it amid more pressing avocations in Bunnoo; but there is only two or three days' more work left of it now.

The rain, I am happy to say, has done no damage, but rather good, to our fort which begins to frown very formidably over the country. Bricklayers and carpenters have at last arrived from Dera to help the sepoys, labourers are flocking in from Kuchee, and the Vizeerees are daily bringing in fir poles for the cantonment from the pine forests, which cover their mountains. The foundation of the fort was laid on 18th December and I hope to see it all completed by the 18th February.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,

Assistant Resident.

No. 23.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 11th and 12th of January 1848.

11th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh, Bunnoo.—This morning, Sirdar Khwajah Mohummud Khan paid me a visit and again entertained me with a detail of the loss of revenue which his absence from Kohat occasions. He begged me as a favor to let him go with 200 of the Barukzye sowars, in 20 days' time, when the forts shall be all down, and all chance of immediate hostilities at an end. I promised to submit his request to the Resident, and to solicit its being granted. I have already allowed 200 sowars of this contingent to return with Lieutenant Taylor, so that there are now only 800 here, but 200 more can easily be spared in a fortnight's time. The remaining 600 had better then stay till April when this force will break up and go into quarters; but I propose to keep 100 of the Barukzye sowars throughout the year, as speaking the language of the Bunnoochees they are more useful than other horsemen, and, should the Resident think it agreeable to the terms of the Barukzye jageer, this hundred may be relieved annually, or every six months, by an equal number from the brother Sirdars in turn, an arrangement which will not bear hard upon any of them. Indeed if their jageer is on the same footing with those of military Jageerdars in the Punjab, the whole of their contingent of 2,000 men is liable to constant employment. But I rather think the jageer must be looked on to a certain extent as a pension to conquered and absorbed Chiefs.

Occupied all day with the Esau Kheyl settlement.

I find that, though General Cortlandt has received orders to send all Mihrabee rupees to Pind Dadan Khan to be recoined into Nanuck Shahees by Misr Rullya Ram, the Misr's own man has already converted his former Mihrabee mint at Dera Ismael Khan into a Nanuck Shahee mint which is now busily at work; and as this can only have been done by the wish of Misr Rullya Ram who is charged with the re-issue, and the expense of the mint at Dera is nothing like what the expense would be of hiring camels continually to convey Mihrabees to Pind Dadun Khan and bring back Nanuck Shahees, I have told General Cortlandt to allow the mint to continue till an answer to this reference can arrive from the Resident.

12th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—This is a great festival among the Sikhs, and I have therefore given the soldiers a holiday from the fort.

Rode out through the upper *tuppahs* of Bunnoo and stirred the people up to increased activity in levelling their forts. The work is proceeding well and simultaneously throughout all the *tuppahs*. At the head of the Koorrum river is a small island of fertile fields, in the centre of which stand two forts belonging to the Momund Kheyl Vizeerees. Being in a corner I expected these people would not pull down their forts without being looked after, and found such to be the case. No sooner, however, did our party come in sight than the Vizeerees scrambled on to the walls and began heaving over the ramparts, while the Mullicks rushed out to make their apologies, dragging after them a reluctant *doombah* tied by a turban. This is the universal offering of Bunnoo, and I never pass a *gurhee* without having to go through the ceremony of refusing a sheep. The Momund Kheyl Vizeerees are the only ones of their tribe who pass the whole year in the plains of Bunnoo. Among other *gurhees*, I visited the only one in all Bunnoo which is entirely possessed and inhabited by Hindoos. By industry and knowledge of accounts these people, as is observed throughout all Afghanistan, have made themselves indispensable to the indolent and ignorant Puthans, and in spite of oppression and occasional plunder have accumulated wealth. No small portion even of land belongs to the colony of Khutrees above mentioned; but now that, like others, they must knock down their fort, they have applied to be admitted into our new town of Duleepshahr, whose foundations are to be laid to-morrow. This will not prevent them from letting out their land as usual, and their accession to the new town will be a mutual advantage.

Mozuffur Khan, son of the Kalabagh Wallah, called to express his gratitude for the confirmation of his father's former rights by Mr. John Lawrence in Lahore. This settlement is of course much more valuable to the family than any money allowance, which would be liable to reduction as the reasons for it become forgotten.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 24.--Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 13th to the 16th of January 1848.

13th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—Mullick Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, came to represent that to knock down his fort during the time allowed would employ the whole of his men and put a stop to the sowing and ploughing of the lands called Sudurawan, which have just been awarded to him by the *moonsiffs*. Crops being of more consequence than castles, I gave him ten days more.

Having ascertained that a tribe of Vizeerees, named Jannee Kheyl, hold lands beyond those of the Bukky Kheyl on the west of Bunnoo, and are now in the mountains, never having come in to sign the Vizeeree agreement, I took the opportunity of Swahn Khan's visit to ask him about them. He said "he supposed they thought they were going to do as of old, *viz.*, sow their lands and then run away, leaving a man or two to water the cultivation and return themselves to reap the harvest, paying no revenue." Having given this account of them, Swahn Khan laughed heartily at the mistake of the Jannee Kheylees, who are no great friends of his apparently. I gave him a *purwannah* and desired him to inform the Mullicks of Jannee Kheyl, wherever they may be, that they must either be ryots or rebels. If the former, the sooner they came in the better, and if the latter, I shall give away their lands to others.

A great number of Khutrees having come from the Sooraunee *tuppahs* to apply for sites in our new city of Duleepshahr, I went over to show it to them. It is as yet not quite marked out, but already the broad streets and spacious market square in the centre look quite imposing. The Khutrees highly approved, but gave a good illustration of the life they have been leading by every one applying for the house nearest to the fort! Already the applications are so numerous that we have been compelled to extend the original plan, and it is probable that the trade of the adjoining provinces of Esau Kheyl, Murwut and Tank will soon centre in Duleepshahr instead of as hitherto in Dera. That town was indeed in a decaying state when I visited it last year, and there are two reasons why it can never become a prosperous place: the Dera country is entirely dependent on rain, and the rate of corn is consequently exorbitant. On the other side of the river, in Kuchee,

where the land is periodically irrigated by the Indus, corn is exceedingly cheap, and the Dera *shroffs* buy it up and store it in Kuchee, whence they bring it across in small quantities and keep up the high prices of the Dera side. Moreover, it is impossible to store corn in Dera on account of white-ants. When General Cortlandt arrived and inspected the stores in the fort of Ukalgurh outside Dera he found the greater part of the corn pulverised. The Dera bazaar therefore is supplied almost day by day.

Nearly half of one of the Sooraunee *tuppahs* belonging to Bazeed Khan has passed into the possession of the Vizeerees, and seven clans, who were the original Bunnoochee inhabitants, have dwindled down to three. The Vizeerees not having become ryots of the Khalsa until the present time cannot by any construction be called upon to pay a share of the arrears of revenue imposed last spring, and on the other hand it is hard to expect half a Bunnoochee *tuppah* to pay the same arrears as the whole ones. Accordingly I have told them to pay in the half which is by their own showing due from them, and then I will excuse all those lands which are proved by the survey to be in possession of the Vizeerees.

14th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—Some Chiefs of the Meeree *tuppahs* came in to petition that the walls of two of their forts may be left standing, being quite outside Bunnoo and exposed to constant forays from the Vizeerees. The request seems very reasonable, but as no Bunnoochee is to be believed, I shall go to-morrow and see the ground before I break the rule laid down for all Bunnoo.

Mohummud Alum Khan, son of Sirdar Syud Mohummud, called to present me a letter from his father expressive of a hope that his son and sowars are doing their duty. In reply I wrote that they were giving satisfaction. This family of Barukzyes is more divided by jealousies than any I ever met with.

Shahzadah Alee Ahmud, son of the late Shah Kamran of Herat, paid me a visit, with an introduction from Lieutenant Taylor. He has been staying some months with Sirdar Sooltan Mohummud at Peshawur, and is now on his way back *viâ* Shikarpore to Candahar, where he resides. Orientals do not take fatiguing journeys for nothing, and as the Shahzadah informed me that several of his brothers, including the eldest, are in refuge at the Court of Persia, I asked him if it was true that the

Shah's army is marching on Herat? He replied that "the report was very rife, but there was no knowing whether it was true or not." I enquired what command his elder brother held in the Shah's army, and he replied: "None in particular, the Shah allowed him money, and had promised to put him on his father's throne of Herat if he succeeds in taking it." It is not improbable that such a scheme may be in contemplation, for Yar Mohummud is growing daily more unpopular, and his army is weak, and it would in such a case be natural for the Candahar Sirdars to consult Sooltan Mohummud as to the probability of the British Government assisting Yar Mohummud before they undertake to co-operate against Herat.

Received from General Cortlandt the proceedings in the case of the *ghazee* who killed the sentry. He sentences the *ghazee* to be hanged and his *Peer* to be imprisoned for 12 years. In this I concur; but, as the object is to deter others from following the *ghazee's* example, I recommend that his body remain on the gallows in an iron cage. This was done I remember in a dacoity case at a village called Koel, near Ferozepore, and the effect of it was very great in that part of the country. I have sent the case on to the Resident for final orders.

Continued the Esau Kheyl settlement.

15th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—According to promise, at sunrise this morning I rode out with General Cortlandt to the Meeree *tuppahs*, and, finding the representations of the Mullicks to be just, I gave permission for the walls of the fort of Nurar and the fort of Shuheedan to be left standing as high as a man can reach with his hand. This is sufficient for protection, and yet would not enable the people to hold out against us. I was happy to see that since I had given water to these *tuppahs* extensive tracts have been sown, but others as wide still lie barren owing to having got the water so late in the season. The Meerees and Vizeerees now divide the Tochee river between them in tolerable concord, and next *khurreef* this part of Bunnoo ought to produce one-third of the revenue of the valley.

On returning to camp at 1 o'clock I accidentally learnt, in talking to a Fukeer, that one of our sepoys was murdered last night near the town of Bazaar. I immediately sent word to General Cortlandt to put the *khojees* on the track; but, owing to the unaccountable delay which

has occurred in information of the murder reaching camp, I am afraid the constant traffic on the Bazaar road will have obliterated the footsteps of the murderers. People were sent out to bring in the body and found neither the murdered man's money, nor clothes, nor arms taken from him; and the murder was committed some distance off the road, so that I am afraid it is not the work of a Bunnoochee, but of some enemy of the dead man in our own camp. The last evidence that has been elicited concerning the matter is that the deceased was last seen smoking with two or three other sepoys in Bazaar and expressed his intention of going home with them. None of these men have come forward as yet, and I have requested the officers of the force to attend at my tent to-morrow evening.

Continued the Esau Kheyl settlement.

At night one of my 25 orderly Ghorchurras came to me with a loud complaint against his Major for telling him off to a duty "contrary to the roster." Until very lately the rôle or roster has been quite nominal even in the regular Sikh army, both for duty and promotion, and it is a sign of improving discipline when even the irregular *missuls* claim to be put under a regulation which abolishes favouritism. I entered fully into the complaint, had all the sowars up, and made out a roster for the future, with which they were much pleased.

16th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—This evening I had a Durbar of all the officers of the force, and called upon them to enforce the camp regulations against soldiers remaining out after sunset. A single successful murder induces a dozen others, and it brings discredit on us all that our men should be picked off one by one in this cowardly manner. They proposed laying an ambush near the mill where the Bunnoochees prowl about at night to attack any sepoy coming home late; but though the chances are 99 out of 100 that any *mulkeeah* they shoot prowling about at that hour with arms will have come with intent to kill, it is still repugnant to one's notions of fair fighting to take a man's life from a hiding place, and before he has committed any overt act to discover his hostile intentions.

I also took the opportunity of deprecating the wanton destruction of mulberry and other trees for firewood, plenty of which is procurable for money. In Cashmere and Peshawar the people still reproach the

Sikh army with desolating the gardens of the Mahomedan rulers, and, go where they will, Sikh soldiers carry the same barbarous love of destruction and inability to feel either the natural beauty of the trees or to understand the improvidence of destroying them.

The Khutrees and others interested in the new city of Duleepshahr having fixed this evening for laying the first brick, I rode out to see the ceremony, and at their request poured out the oil emblematic of prosperity over the ground. I have ordered our own masons to build a few houses at the street corners as a pattern from which every shopkeeper is to build his own in uniformity. At the back each can make his own arrangements for dwelling apartments.

Mullick Swahn Khan called very mysteriously at night to acquaint me with a plot concocted in the Daood Shah *tuppahs* to cut me down while riding into some of their forts. I am in the habit of making excursions round the country to note what forts are being destroyed, and what not, and being generally ahead of my own party it usually happens that I enter the gateways alone, and it would certainly be very easy to finish me before the sowars could come up, but I have gone on the principle that the best buckler is to show no apprehension of such designs. I asked Swahn Khan what would be the use of killing me; another Sahib would come down from Peshawar in a week? The Mullick laughed and said: "The Bunnoochees have no sense; they say this Sahib has taken away our independence; the Sikhs never built a fort till he told them; now if we kill him of course the Sikhs will go away as they did before." The advice was friendly, and I believe sensible, and I shall take the hint.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 25.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 17th to the 19th of January 1848.

17th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh, Bunnoo.—Engaged all day with *urzees*.

Amongst others the religious *Mafeedars* of the Sooraunee *tuppahs* came to represent that their Mullicks are calling on them for a share of the arrears of the last *rubbee*, and collecting also instalments from

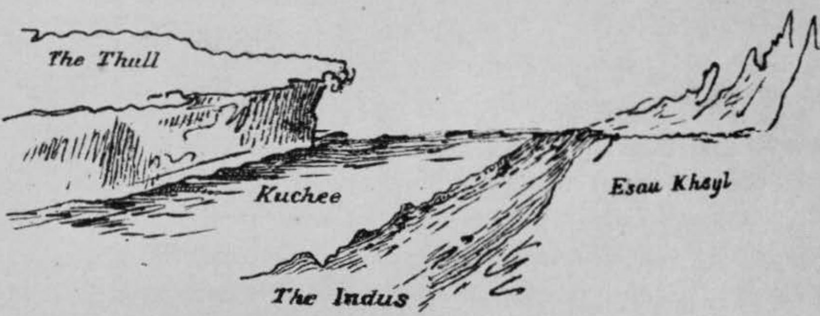
them on account of the *khurreef*, which they wish left in abeyance until I have settled what share they are to pay. Concerning the arrears of the *rubbee*, no claim lies against the Syuds in my opinion, as by the custom of the country they were free at that time, and I have therefore desired the Mullicks not to trouble them. Indeed I am somewhat surprised at their doing so; but as usual the presence of law absorbs all lesser influences, and this is perhaps a signal that power is passing away from the priests, who so lately had it all their own way. With respect to the *khurreef* the Mullicks are in no way to blame for collecting instalments (on account) even from the Syuds, as it is probable that nearly all of them will have to pay something; but as the point is not essential I waived it in favour of the *Mafeedars*, and they went away well satisfied with my assurance that a very easy revenue will be laid upon them.

Sirdar Ram Sing has made out the list of his 500 Irregular sowars, and I will have the invaliding parade to-morrow or next day; but for reasons before stated do not expect any retirements.

A spy of mine thinks he has got a clue to the murderer of the sepoy, who was killed on 18th December. He names one Akbar Khan, a Vizeeree of the Hathee Kheyl tribe, and I have told Mullick Swahn Khan to bring him in.

A Hindoo of Moollah's *gurhee* in the Daood Shah *tuppahs* has brought General Cortlandt more detailed information of the plot to dispose of me in one of the gateways. He says the plan was that when my party appeared in the distance, the conspirators should throw themselves into an empty fort whose walls are to be left standing on purpose to attract my notice. It was calculated that I should make straight for the undemolished fort (as I assuredly should have done) and myself enter to see the reason, when the gate was to be shut behind the two or three who might enter with me, and the whole of us be killed, after which the conspirators were to rush out and take their chance. In this brave undertaking it is said that some Vizeerees also were concerned and that the people of Dour had also promised "a contingent" of 400 rascals. My advice to the Dour people is that they mind their own business, for it would not be a very long journey to their own *gurhees*. I find there is a considerable trade going on between Bunnoo and Dour, and it will probably be necessary to put 10 or 15 armed men into a *gurhee* to look after the Pass.

Sketch showing the course of the Indus.
(Vide page 215.)



18th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—Continued the Esau Kheyl settlement.

The number of arms of sorts voluntarily brought in by the people in part of arrears which they cannot meet otherwise is already one *zumboorah* and 503 *juzails*, besides swords and shields. I have little doubt of getting thus 2,000 *juzails* out of the hands of the people.

The Hindoos requested me to settle what sum they are to pay for a site in the main town of Duleepshahr. Considering that Government will have to compensate the owners of the ground, to build a wall round the town and keep it in repair, and that it is desirable at first starting to secure what is so difficult to impose afterwards, *viz.*, a fund for *Chokeedaree* and conservancy, I think five rupees a year per shop is a fair demand from a class of men who are now for the first time assured of their very lives, and who are relieved of all customs and exactions which they formerly paid their Mullicks. Accordingly five rupees have been fixed, and every man to build his own house, which thenceforth will be his property.

The river Indus has for years been gradually taking a more westerly course in its passage to join the Sutluj, and year by year as it encroaches on the western bank it throws up new land on the eastern. In this way the whole of that fertile tract of country called Kuchee has been formed, and the old eastern bank of the Indus is as distinctly marked, as described in the sketch annexed.

The people of Esau Kheyl were obliged at last to come to an understanding with their neighbours of Kuchee, and in both Oomur Khan's and Ahmed Khan's time boundaries were laid down on the left bank parallel with the river, to the east of which was to remain with Kuchee and to the west with Esau Kheyl. In the confusion of the kingdom and jealousies of Kardars, these boundaries have been but ill observed, but now that things are settling into their places, and security begins to give an hundredfold value to property, the Esau Kheylees wish to embark capital in cultivating the new land which has been thrown up on their opposite bank, now covered with reeds, osiers, tiger grass and trees. The Sirkar's proclamation of all newly cultivated lands free for three years has added a fresh stimulus to this spirit of enterprise and many are the applications from would-be cultivators. Ram Sing, Kardar of Kuchee, has, however, without reference to General Cortlandt prevented

the execution of these good intentions, declaring all the ground on the left bank to belong to Kuchee, and warning off the Esau Kheyl clearing-parties. I have therefore directed General Cortlandt to cause the boundary to be readjusted forthwith by the kardars, *punches* and elders of the two districts, and this accomplished an enormous tract of land now inhabited by wild pigs and tigers will be brought under the plough.

19th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—Yesterday I sent for the owners of the ground on which our fort and town stand with the view of giving them compensation. This morning the Mullick of the *tuppah* came and said he only desired an equivalent share to be struck out of the revenue, but I desired him to bring the respective landowners before me that I may learn their wishes from their own mouth.

A box of medical stores sent by the Resident for the use of the troops here arrived safe this morning.

Hearing *roobukarees* all day.

Sent a *purwannah* to Sirdar Jewun Sing, Chachee, to wait on Lieutenant Nicholson before he goes to his jageer. The Kuchee revenue (to hasten which he was also sent) is now coming in very well.

Daniel Khan, an Armenian who was employed by Major Macgregor in Lahore, and who has got the spirit contract, brought before me two men to whom he has sold licenses for Bunnoo and Dera. In the former place, both have opened shops, paying, one of them two rupees four annas a day, and the other, two rupees two annas, and at Dera, one of them only has opened a shop, paying one rupee nine annas a day.

A reference to the table on the next page will show that all the regiments here are far below their standard, one has only half its complement. Yet all guards in the regiment have to be furnished as usual, and the duty falls heavy on the men. Another and more serious evil is that when a regiment is ordered on service it is taken for granted that it consists of 700 men and that it is equal to the work of a regiment, whereas in fact it is not, and in this way the six Infantry regiments and one of Cavalry now here are in fact only equal to five regiments altogether. Many other regiments in the service are doubtless in the same state, and if it is not intended to keep the regiments full, it would be better to incorporate them one with another, so that when a regiment is sent on service it may really be a regiment, and half a corps not have to furnish the regimental guards of a whole one.

Statement showing strength of Regiments in Bunnoo.

Names of Regiments.	Generals.	Colonels.	Commandants.	Adjutants.	Majors.	Soobahdars.	Jummadars and Nishanchees.	Sergeants.	Havildars.	Foorrias.	Naiks.	Drummers or Trumpeters.	Sepoys.	Remarks.
Regulation for any Regiment.	1 to 4 Regiments.	1 to 2 Regiments	2	2	1	8	17	8	32	8	32	30	720	
Bishen Sing's Regiment	1	...	2	2	1	8	19	8	31	6	32	30	641	On command and absent 255.
Soobhan Khan's Regiment	...	1	1	1	1	8	16	7	31	8	31	30	570	On command 68.
Kuthar Mookkee Regiment	1	1	2	2	2	8	17	10	32	8	32	32	690	On command at Tank, 1 Coy.
Zorakhun Sing's Regiment	...	...	1	2	1	8	14	5	21	7	29	24	450	
Miher Sing's Regiment ...	In Lahore 1 (Mahtab Sing.)	...	2	2	1	8	14	6	30	6	23	22	525	On command 45.
Khas Regiment ...	...	1	1	1	1	8	23	6	25	6	27	30	363	On command 3.
Akal Regiment of Cavalry	...	1	1	2	1	8	20	8	27	7	25	16	403	

Present strength	...	3,642
Regulation ditto	...	5,040
Deficiency	...	1,398

In the Dograh Regiment of Zorakhun Sing it will be observed that there is no Colonel, and I would take the liberty of recommending that Zorakhun Sing, the Commandant, be promoted to that rank. He is a very good old officer, and after 39 years' service well deserves this mark of approbation. I am much pleased with the behaviour of both him and his Regiment. Miher Sing's Regiment is also without a Colonel, but I have not seen sufficient of Miher Sing to recommend him, indeed my impression is rather the other way.

I propose the following list of corps to remain in Bunnoo, cantoned in Duleepgurh, if the Resident should approve:—

Infantry.	Soobhan Khan's Regiment of Punjab Mussulmen ...	570
	Kuthar Mookkee Regiment, ½ Punjab Mussulmen, ½ Poorbeeahs and Goorkhas	690
	Bishen Sing's Regiment of Punjab Mussulmen ...	641
	Zorakhun Sing's Regiment of Dograhs ...	450
		2,351
Cavalry.	Regiment of Regular Cavalry	403
	Irregular Cavalry under Sirdar Ram Sing ...	500
	Out of the Barukzye Contingent	100
		1,003
Artillery.	Two troops of Horse Artillery belonging to General Cortlandt with exception of two guns which he will take to Dera.	
	Four guns out of the heavy battery at Lukkee.	
	80 *zumboorahs*.	

It will be seen that the four Infantry corps are no better than three of the strength of 700, and even out of these, 255 men are away of Bishen Sing's Regiment (on duty at Vuzeerabad and Goojrat) and 68 out of Soobhan Khan's, and I should therefore be glad if these men were ordered to join forthwith. I have to submit also for the Resident's approval the following simple plan for giving all the Regiments their leave without detriment to the duties here:—

Let one-fourth of the four regiments that are to remain all the year in Bunnoo take two months' leave immediately. They will be all back before 15th April. It will then be time for this force to break up, and the Khas Regiment and Peshawur Troop of Artillery may return to Peshawur. But let Miher Sing's Regiment stay here in barracks two months more, *i.e.*, till end of June, while a second one-fourth of the four Infantry Regiments go on leave. This second one-fourth will be all back by end of June and then Miher Sing's Regiment can go bodily away on leave, rejoining at any station to which it may be sent, either Pindee Gheybee or Pind Dadun Khan. Meanwhile the Regiment of General Cortlandt's Infantry which has been so sick, and is now at Dera, can take its leave half and half at a time from February till June and march here in July, so as to allow the third one-fourth of our four Regiments to go on leave for July and August, and the last one-fourth can go when the third one-fourth comes back, the Dera Regiment remaining till October or November, when all the men will have had leave, and it can return to Dera. All the Artillery here being extra strength can take leave one-third at a time. Leave is of great consequnce to the men and they are accustomed to get it every year. I therefore trust the Resident will sanction the above plan, so that I may start off the first batch at once.

I should be very glad of copies from the Lahore Duftur of the *Sunnuds* granted by Maharajah Sher Sing to Shah Niwaz Khan of Esau Kheyl, when that King restored the Esau Kheyl family to some portion of their former rights. The object is to ascertain what that portion was, for I have reason to suspect it was less than they formerly enjoyed, and if so, Dewan Dowlut Rae connived at a gross deceit last year, when at my recommendation the Khan was once more recalled from exile and reinstated in Esau Kheyl in all the privileges granted by older *Sunnuds*, I not being aware of the existence of more recent ones and relying implicitly on the enmity of Dowlut Rae not to give more than was absolutely unavoidable. Probably, however, the Khan found means to alter his interest Just now the point is essential in concluding the Esau Kheyl settlement.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,

Assistant Resident.

No. 26.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 20th and 21st of January 1848.

20th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—There has been a great deal of trouble at Dera Ismael Khan with the contractors for the various articles farmed by Government, such as opium, *bhung*, *churrus*, etc., spirits, black-salt, and also the *miherbeyree*. It has arisen from every one thinking his *Sirkaree purwannah* to monopolise the said sources of revenue makes him independent of all the local authorities. They issue their *purwannahs* about the district like so many little Kings and the Kardar has no control over them whatever. Even General Cortlandt was forbidden "to interfere with any of them" till the late order of the Resident making him Nazim not only over the *Adawlut* but the revenue and all matters great and small in the district. The consequence was that one day would come Daniel Khan, the *Shrab* contractor, and take bodily possession not only of the trade but of the house and property of the former distiller, declaring it all confiscated by virtue of his *moshuksah!* Another day, Misr Rulla Ram's man issues a Proclamation confiscating all the black-salt in the town, and at the same time that he declares himself the only person licensed to sell that article he refuses to buy what is brought into the market, the object being to get it for next to nothing. In like manner the opium man stops a cargo of opium at Esau Kheyl, and will neither buy it nor let it pass. He says "I don't want it. Go somewhere else!" But as "everywhere else" Moonshees of the same contractor are the only persons licensed to buy it, the unhappy opium grower is sent from one place to another till he is glad to sell his stock to the contractor at a loss. So with the *miherbeyree wallah*. He owns no authority whatever. General Cortlandt's father at Dera has just written word that the *miherbeyree wallah* refuses to allow a quantity of *bhoos* bought in Kuchee for the cantonment at Dera to cross over to the Dera side, and as the man pays no attention to the orders of the Kardar, Colonel Cortlandt has reported it to his son. I cannot understand this case at all; but I have told General Cortlandt that now he has full authority to interfere with anybody, however great, in his *ilakah*, who misbehaves himself or breaks the laws, and that he had better inform all the contractors that anything necessary for their protection he will do himself, if they come and represent their wishes and wants; but if they issue *purwannahs* right

and left and take the law into their own hands they will be fined, as the *moshuksahs* are not given for the benefit of two or three Moonshees but of the public at large. Now that the Nazim's powers are enlarged, all these things will find their level very soon. I merely report them here for information, though it might not be amiss to tell the Head Contractors at Lahore (whose understrappers these are in the provinces) that they must work through the local authorities, not in opposition to them. I should be glad, however, of the Resident's opinion as to the obligation, or otherwise, of the contractors to purchase the article they monopolise from the producers, and at a remunerating price. At present they want to fix both the price at which they are to buy, and that at which they are to sell, which seems to me preposterous, and making each monopoly a grievance to the two chief parties concerned, *viz.*, the producers and the consumers. If the owner refuses to sell at their price they say "Very well, we won't buy, and you can't sell to any one else." I think the fair interpretation of the monopoly is this—"You are the only party allowed to sell such and such an article, in consideration of which you are bound to buy all of that article brought into the market by the producer, and to pay him a remunerating price for the same. When you sell, you can sell as dear as you can find people to buy." Otherwise hundreds of people will lose their livelihoods for the sake of these monopolists.

To-day I concluded all the Esau Kheyl settlement except the matter of *mulkeeut.* This is a difficult point everywhere. Here it seems to me to be on a very bad footing, the *mulkeeut* being actually more than the revenue. I have given the zumindars a further delay of eight days to go to Esau Kheyl and make out the account of the whole *mulkeeut* of the province, after which I shall wind up the settlement in the way which seems fair to me and then submit the whole to the Resident for his orders.

21st January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—This morning we had the invaliding parade of the Ghorchurras. I went down the line and gave every man the option of retiring on a pension; but only nine accepted it. They all expected, I hear, that I had orders to discharge a certain number of them under any circumstances; but I could only act on the *purwannah* received by Sirdar Ram Sing, which says distinctly "bah murzee-i-khood." The parade was not over till past noon.

Sirdar Syud Mohummud wants to remit money to his sowars here by an order on this *pethee*. Lieutenant Taylor has written to me about it, and I have this morning advanced the Sirdar's son 1,000 rupees.

After transacting *Cutcherry* business for an hour or two I was talking to Mullick Swahn Khan, Vizeer, and his interpreter, about Bunnoo affairs, in my own tent, when the cry arose outside that "swords were going!" Swahn Khan having no arms beat a hasty retreat, and his man began wringing his hands and dancing about the tent, exclaiming "O that I had a sword,!" as if then everything would be right. Having ever since the first attempt of this kind kept a double-barrelled pistol on my table, I cocked both barrels and walked outside, for the row had now grown quite deafening, and I thought there must be a dozen *ghazees* at least, in which case one person inside a tent would stand rather a poor chance. Scarcely had I got out at one door when the *ghazee* (for there proved to be only one) forced his way through the sentries and chuprassees with his drawn sword and entered my tent by the other door. Hearing the rush I turned round and met my friend tumbling through the chicks after me head first like a mad bull. Seeing no resource, and being quite alone, I fired one barrel into his breast, which nearly knocked him down, for there could not have been a foot between us. He only staggered, however, and I was thinking whether he would want the other barrel, when the crowd of people who had followed him, soldiers and camp-followers, with all kinds of weapons, streamed in between us and carried him about twenty yards up against another tent, into which, hacked and hewed in every direction, the wretch crept, but was followed up and so mangled by the people that I wonder he survived a minute. He lingered however till night, in spite of the remedies which the native doctor by my order applied to him. The rage of the soldiery was beyond description, and I had great difficulty in preventing them from carrying the *ghazee* off and burning him alive. Every man proposed some indignity, but most votes seemed to be for "stuffing a slice of pig into his mouth and then roasting him." Even late in the evening a deputation came to say that "it was clear the *ghazee* would not live out the night, and had he not better be hanged at once while there was any life in him?" I said: "No, let him die in peace. The example will be as great, perhaps greater, if he is hanged afterwards." My tent was

immediately besieged by the officers and soldiers, some half naked just as they had rushed from the fort when they heard my pistol, and it was really quite sufficient compensation for the danger to see the unfeigned anxiety of the men and hear their loud greetings and congratulations at escape. Thirty swords at least, covered more or less with the poor *ghazee's* blood, were held out among the crowd, and as many voices shouted "I hit the dog this way"—"Yes, and I hit him *that!*" and certainly they did not leave much of him untouched. Then came all the Sirdars and Colonels with their *nuzzurs* and *surwarnahs*, and the sun set before I could get rid of the assembly. The worst part of the whole business is that the *ghazee* cut up one of my syces most severely before he entered my tent, and I am afraid he is anything but out of danger. The poor fellow was cooking his dinner, and the cowardly rascal sliced him all down the back. It was observed by some of the men that this is Friday, as was also the day on which the first attempt occurred. It is the great day of Mussulmen everywhere; here it is the fair day. It would have been better if the first *ghazee* had been hanged at once. No example has yet been made. With this view I have ordered the body of the *ghazee* who died to-night to be exposed to-morrow on a gallows, the same as if he had been hung. This I understand takes away all the virtue of Mussulman martyrdom, and as such is likely to discourage the practice of *ghuzza*.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 27.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 22nd to the 25th of January 1848.

22nd January 1848.—After usual *Cutcherry* business I took the accounts of the *khurreef* harvest of the Bazaar *tuppah*, from which it appeared that 12 forts were in possession of zumindars and 10 in possession of Syuds and other religious characters, while the former held 6,211 *kunahls* of land, and the latter 2,656, so that in this *tuppah* the religionists have appropriated nearer half than a third of the land! To see what so moderate a revenue would amount to I have calculated this harvest at the rate of one-fourth from the zumindars and

one-seventh from the Syuds, and it amounted to rather more than 5,000 rupees. The *rubbee* is said to be to the *khurreef* as one to two. Therefore the year's revenue of Bazaar would be 7,500 rupees. I do not expect any of the *tuppahs* will prove larger than Bazaar in point of produce, but many of them far below it. On the other hand my belief is that the *rubbee* is not much short of the *khurreef*, as the whole country is under irrigation all the year. The whole 20 *tuppahs* therefore would probably yield 1,30,000 rupees at the low assessment above mentioned, independent of customs, etc. But I am inclined to make the Syuds' revenue one-sixth instead of one-seventh the produce. Enquiry into the internal state of the *tuppahs* does not bring the Mullicks out in very flattering colours, indeed they seem to be most heartily hated, though implicitly obeyed from fear. I have often been struck with wonder at seeing everybody in Bunnoo in rags or shabby apparel, though the valley is so favoured by nature that the people should be in easy circumstances. It appears now that though the country paid little revenue to the Sirkar, it paid heavily to the Mullicks, who farmed out their revenues to Hindoos, and consumed the profits in idleness. The Mullicks themselves know little of how and from whom the shares of revenue were collected. A Hindoo bailiff managed all the business and had nothing more to do with "the lord of the manor" than to supply him with money. The system of course told fearfully upon the weak, and fully two-thirds of this prolific valley, to which nature never denies a crop, have passed away from sheer poverty out of the hands of the zumindars into the possession of mortgagees, chiefly Syuds and other wealthy men who, having no burdens of their own, had plenty of funds to invest in the misfortunes of others. I have before related the absurd and unjust system of mortgage which hitherto has obtained in Bunnoo, by which the owner of the land or mortgagor continued to pay the revenue while the mortgagee enjoyed the harvests. By direction of the Resident, from the date of our arrival in Bunnoo, the produce of mortgaged lands, minus 12 per cent., will be carried to the credit of the owners, and this amelioration will in a very short time bring back the lands to the right masters, as the original debts were in most cases trifling.

The name of the *ghazee* who was killed yesterday was Zabtah Khan, son of Sher Khan of Hussun Kheyl, in Bazaar *tuppah*. His mother-in-law came and recognised him, and said he always led a vagrant kind of life; only sleeping at home and not even that for the last week.

23rd January 1848--Camp Duleepgurh.—Heavy rain all night. In the morning walked round the works to see if any damage had been done to the fort; but no harm done. The more we see of Bunnoo the more we congratulate ourselves on the site chosen for this fort. There is none other to compare with it. No business.

24th January.—News of the arrival of the steamer at Dera Ismail Khan, commanded by Lieutenant Christopher. They are planning the river as they come up. This accounts for their slow progress.

Nizamoodeen, a spy of mine, says he overheard some Oolumas in the *gurhee* of Jaffir Khan, in Daood Shah *tuppah*, talking about some 10 or 12 Oolumas of the adjoining valley of Dour having turned *ghazee*, and sworn to kill the Sahib in Bunnoo. These Dour people are great blackguards, perhaps the most vicious and degraded in social habits of the whole Afghan nation. Their country is independent of the Cabul Kings or anyone else, and is a fertile little valley about twelve *koss* long and five broad, surrounded by rugged hills, and watered by the Tochee or Goombeelah, which emerges in Bunnoo and passes on to Murwut. The valley is said to contain about 150 forts. The people are hereditary friends of the Bunnoochees. From the upper Meerey *tuppahs* of Bunnoo to Dour is about five *koss*, and after issuing from the pass the road is open and good. Should it be necessary, therefore I daresay there would be no great difficulty in paying them a visit.

Bijjee Ram, late Tahseeldar of Tank, who was removed on my report of his appointment being a sinecure, called on me to-day and asked for another.

My poor syce died this day of the wounds received from the *ghazee* on 21st January. The event has terrified my servants greatly.

25th January.—Hearing that several *gurhees* in the Daood Shah *tuppah* were only half levelled and no signs of the work proceeding, I rode out that way this morning with General Cortlandt. There were several still half as high again as a man and I took 10 rupees from each as a fine, promising to call again in a week. I took the opportunity of enquiring for the forts of the Mullicks Jaffir Khan and Shadee Khan, who planned cutting me down in their gateways, and was not surprised to find their walls standing almost entire. The two

forts adjoined each other, and were as convenient a spot as could be desired for surprising a small party off their guard. I collected the people therefore and made them destroy the gateways in my presence, and then imposed a fine of 50 rupees on each of the Mullicks, only one of whom by the way was forthcoming, the other (Shadee Khan) hid himself, the people said, at our approach, so that his guilty conscience must have suggested to him that perhaps his plot had been discovered

The information of Nizamoodeen concerning the Dourees turns out more than correct. Baba Ootum Sing, a Fukeer in Dour, has out of lingering regard for his countrymen written a Goormukkee note to an Artillery commandant in camp, and it was brought by a Khutree of Bazaar, who had gone there on business. The note says in a few words that we had better be on our guard as the tribes of eight countries (of which Dour is one) have agreed together to strike one blow for their religion, that they are gathering together, and amount to 35,000 men, and in a few days will descend on Bunnoo by the road of the Koorrum. The Baba implores the Commandant not to let his name transpire as the Puthans would certainly kill him. The Hindoo who brought the note gave farther particulars: that the stirrers up of the whole as usual are the Oolumas, and that venerable rebel, Dillassah Khan, who fled from Bunnoo at our approach and took refuge in Dour. The Khutree farther declared that *the Dooranees* (meaning the Barukzye Sirdars) *in our camp* are in communication with Dillassah Khan, who also communicates with a son of Dost Mohummud who is in Khost (adjoining Dour) collecting revenue. I cross-questioned the Khutree much on this extraordinary statement, but he persisted in saying that, whether I believed it or not, it is the common talk of the people of Dour. It is difficult to imagine any motive which Khwajah Mohummud could have for such an intrigue, but this is not conclusive against it, for the history of his nation is little else than a catalogue of plots, which the historian records but seldom accounts for. Personally he is rather given this way, and entered readily into the schemes of independence framed by Rajah Lal Sing in 1846. Indeed he was the rotten reed the Rajah chose to lean upon. He does not I know relish this settlement of Bunnoo. It is treading too closely on the heels of Kohat, and probably he has not forgotten that that jageer was given up to his father

only because Runjeet did not like to undertake the task of managing it himself. Either way, true or untrue, I shall send for him quietly and tell him what I have heard, for I feel no inclination to play the spy upon a Sirdar in our own camp, and it is more desirable that, if intriguing, he should be checked in time than that he should be left to pursue his course for the sake of punishing him afterwards. If innocent no harm will be done.

As to the threatened invasion, I have no doubt that something of the kind is brewing. The neighbouring valleys cannot look on with indifference at so complete a settlement and annexation, as this is likely to be, of Bunnoo, by a Hindoo power, and the association of British agents would necessarily increase the alarm and add to the animosity of Afghans. But I should very much doubt the rising being in that forward state which the Baba's letter would intimate. Different tribes of Puthans are not brought together, even against a common enemy and under the pretext of religion, in a day. They have mutual enmities and distrusts to vanquish, and oaths of fidelity to each other to swear, before they can trust themselves in company, and after all the choice of a leader may be found an insurmountable obstacle. Arrangements for food too require time and, what is more, money. Snow also lies heavy on the hills, and extensive operations must be difficult. All these are reasons for supposing that there is no immediate cause of alarm. But it is equally true that in the end all these difficulties may be overcome and the rebels accomplish a gathering. My opinion is that it is more probable than otherwise. The question therefore becomes—how are we prepared? I think exceedingly well. The weakness of all our Regiments makes our apparent strength fallacious, and altogether we have only 3,000 Infantry; but these with 1,500 Cavalry, 18 guns and 80 *zumboorahs* are sufficient to encounter any force that could come against us, though perhaps not to be very enterprising in offensive operations. We should occupy our skeleton fort, and Sikh soldiers are very bold behind walls whatever they may be in the plain. All Bunnoo might rise and join all Cabul, and not be able to touch us. If the enemy ventured within range of our guns he would get handsomely mauled, and after eating up the 10 or 12 days' provisions which they brought with them the tribes would be forced by hunger to disperse. Falling on their rear we might then pay them off and cure

them of the desire of meddling in other people's affairs. Should any probability of this affair coming to a head in the spring or summer appear, I do not think it would be advisable to weaken the Infantry of this force. Six regiments sounds very grand, but a reference to figures reduces them to 3,239 men, supposing all present; but two companies of one regiment are on detached duty at Vuzeerabad and Goozurat and one company of another at Tank. There is no necessity to recall those companies. I only mention it as an argument against two of the regiments going away, four being our permanent complement. In the evening, after considering these matters, I sent for Mullick Swahn Khan, Vizeer, and at the same moment he appeared to give me information on the very subject in hand. His view of it was that at present nothing more will be done than making forays on stray partics of grass-cutters and camel-feeders; but that when the snow breaks up more may come of it. He advised my opening a communication with the most influential man in Dour, a Syud named Zeywur Shah, of great age and reputation, whose country is properly Konegoorrum in the Vizeer hills, but who has settled among his disciples in Dour. (His disciples are no great credit to him.) In the course of his description Swahn Khan mentioned that this Syud had a *dhurmurth* in Tank, and as he is therefore so far a subject of the Sirkar I availed myself of this circumstance to send him a *purwannah*, calling on him to restrain his disciples within their own borders if he did not wish to lose his *dhurmurth* and they their country. His reply will give a better indication of the real state of things. Meanwhile I have sent off one or two emissaries to those parts, and desired the Artillery commandant to cultivate his correspondence with the Sikh Baba in Dour.

A grand deputation of the Bunnoochee Syuds and Ooluma came to express their heartfelt (and sincere !) satisfaction at the failure of Zabtah Khan's attempt upon my life. I took the opportunity of informing them that if they succeeded in getting rid of me, they would probably get two Sahibs instead of me, who would as likely as not double the revenue.

Took the account of the *khurreef* of two more Bunnoo *tuppahs*.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 28.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 26th and 27th of January 1848.

26th January 1848.—With reference to a possible rising in the hills I set the two Sapper and Miner companies to work to dig a tank for water in the inside of the fort and in three or four days it will be complete. The soil of Bunnoo is so stiff that it holds water nearly as well as masonry. We did not intend to lay in the supplies for the fort until the *rubbee* harvest, but I have now sent our camels, which were grazing at Esau Kheyl, across the river to Kuchee to bring a supply enough for this force for a month or two at least. To have brought up so large a quantity of grain here would both have caused alarm and have distressed our camp by raising the *nerrick*.

An amusing instance of Afghan suspicion occurred this morning. Mullick Sher Must Khan of Jhundoo Kheyl has paid Mullick Swahn Khan, Vizeer, the sum agreed upon by arbitration on his lands, partly in cash and partly in securities. Swahn Khan wished much to give a receipt for the same, but not being able to trust any one to write it, he came to me to draw it out for him.

It will be remembered that three Mullicks about a fortnight ago planned cutting me down in one of their fort gateways in the Daood Shah *tuppah*. Yesterday I reported having found their fort walls standing almost untouched and have levied a fine of 50 rupees from each of them. This morning they are reported to have gone off to Dour together with another Mullick, whom I conclude from this circumstance to have been also the third conspirator. The Hindoos of their villages came to know what they should do. I told General Cortlandt he had better write the runaways a *purwannah* informing them that if they do not return in a week their lands will be confiscated, and for the present to appoint any headmen whom the people look up to. This Daood Shah *tuppah* gives more trouble than all the others put together. There are several small Mullicks of equal importance in it, but now old Dillassah is in rebellious exile no one who can command the whole. The Bunnoochees have a contemptuous saying against the natives of this *tuppah*—"Oh he comes from Daood Shah!" which is equivalent to "He is a born fool!"

The walls of the new town of Duleepshahr are waist high on three sides already. The Buniyahs of the town of Bazaar are applying for places in it, which I am sorry for, as opposition is good.

27th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—There was rather an interesting case in *Cutcherry* this morning, and one on which I should be glad of the Resident's opinion. The people of Kolachee and the Vizeerees of the western hills have for years been so far on friendly terms that neither plundered the other's property, though if a Kolachee man had gone into the hills he would probably never have come out again. Some months ago a band of Vizeeree robbers (among whom was the notorious Peera, who has now been pardoned by General Cortlandt and is doing good service with Shah Niwaz Khan in Tank) carried off a drove of 80 camels belonging to Kolachee. This breach of ancient treaty caused a great commotion at Kolachee, and Gooldad Khan at the instigation of the injured camel owners seized and confiscated a cargo of iron which had been brought to Kolachee by some Vizeeree merchants for sale. A deputation then went from Kolachee to meet a deputation from the Vizeerees and talk the rupture over, but the Vizeerees refused point blank to give up so rich a prize as 80 camels. The iron therefore has continued under an embargo all this while and the owners of the camels called upon Gooldad Khan to sell it and give them the money in compensation. Afraid of the Vizeeree merchants going to complain against him he refused, but still keeps possession. The case therefore has come to me, and considering that the Vizeerees are not the Sirkar's subjects, nor own any head who can be treated with, and consequently that there is no jurisdiction which can bring home the punishment to the individual Vizeerees who hold the camels in the hills, and that the tribe refuses to give up the said camels, it seems to me perfectly justifiable, and that there is no other way than for the injured country to retaliate on the injurers nationally, *i.e.*, by reprisal of any goods of any member of the Vizeeree tribe. This at least is the principle on which we take the merchant ships of private individuals of a country with which we are at war, to say nothing of "letters of marque," which stretch the principle a long way farther. I have, therefore, after maturely weighing the matter, directed Gooldad Khan to sell the Vizeeree iron for the benefit of the Kolachee camel owners, though the value of the former is only 1,400 rupees and

that of the latter's camels 2,400 rupees. But I should be glad to restore things to their ancient footing and have written to Shah Niwaz Khan of Tank, who is on good terms with the Vizeerees, desiring him to send for their Chiefs and endeavour to negotiate a mutual restitution, warning them that otherwise they will not be allowed to enter the Sirkar's country at any point, either to sell the iron and wood which their hills produce, or to buy the corn which they do not produce, for if the mountaineers are to be protected in our territory, and not our own people, the latter will have just cause to complain of an intercourse so one-sided in its benefits.

General Cortlandt is terribly worried with the complaints flocking in against the Mullicks, and he has at last undertaken to register the proprietary of each *tuppah* "Asameewar," a laborious task, but one it appears absolutely necessary to protect the poorer classes. This once achieved, the Mullicks can be employed with safety as Government Tuhseeldars.

In the course of some other business a young lad, about 16 years old, son of a Sooraunee Mullick, imparted to me the deep anxiety of his father and himself about past murders. "What," he asked, "is the law?" After explaining to him that crimes of this sort would only be investigated if they occurred during the past year, I asked him jokingly "How many men he had killed in his time?" He replied: "Oh, I have only killed four, but father has killed 80!" One gets accustomed to this state of society; but in England what monsters of cruelty would this father and son be considered. Indeed few people would like to be in the same room with them. Yet, *ceteris paribus*, they are rather respectable men.

The dawk is beginning to act very well. Answers are now being received to letters that the sepoys have sent home, and this encourages others. Every two days the dawk takes from eight annas to one rupee worth of *chits*.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 29.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 28th and 29th of January 1848.

20th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—This morning I decided a case which made the rule that the new law of mortgages laid down by the

Resident shall be considered in force from the *rubbee* of 1903, or January 1847. Therefore the arrears of revenue will fall, as they ought in justice to do, on those who held the lands at that time, not on the mortgagors.

The Bukky Kheyl Vizeerees have been stealing cattle in the Meeree *tuppah* next to them, and one of their number caught. I have sent for the whole of the Chiefs that I may take security from them for their future good conduct, though who will go security for such fellows is very doubtful. However, if they do not furnish security, we must put a small *gurhee* there and saddle the Vizeerees with the expense.

The greater part of the day occupied with an intricate case of a claim preferred by a holy man from Peshawur, named Shuhaboodeen, to 500 *beeghas* of ground in one of the Sooraunee *tuppahs*. The Mean's claim seemed to me very vague from the first, but to show the Syuds that they are certain of fair play I entered very fully into it, and in the course of yesterday and to-day the 500 *beeghas* have melted away into 25, and those out of his family for 30 or 40 years! The story was very characteristic of Bunnoo. It commenced with "The daughter of Shabool inherited these lands from her father and she was killed by her *tenants and friends*, etc., etc.," and went on to detail a succession of proprietors who were all either killed, mutilated, or forcibly dispossessed. Two of them were condemned to death, but only had their hands cut off as a personal favor to oblige some other Mullick who interceded for them.

29th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—Received a visit from Sirdar Khwajah Mohummud Khan and his cousin Alim Khan. The former has been out on a hunting excursion and therefore I have not sooner been able to speak to him on the subject of the reported correspondence between him and Dillassah Khan. I took this opportunity of doing so, and he solemnly denied the accusation, producing the many obvious arguments against the probability of his doing so base an action—"fidelity to the salt of the Khalsa which his father had eaten so many years"—"his knowledge of British power and hopelessness of success"—etc., etc. But he was not at all indignant at the suspicion, which would have been much more satisfactory. This, however, may be only the difference of national character. An Englishman if innocent would have been angry, but probably an Afghan, when asked if he is a traitor, thinks himself it would be very natural if he was and is no more annoyed than a Swiss when asked if he has a goitre or not under his neckcloth.

I have heard nothing fresh from Dour, but in a few days my own spies will come back from there. It has been raining hard here during the last two or three days, and there being snow up in the hills would put a stop, for the present at least, to any rising and not unlikely break it off altogether.

The three runaway Mullicks and conspirators from Daood Shah are making overtures to come back. I have sent word that they had better, if they wish to save their lands; but that when they do come they must give security for their future good behaviour.

Not at all a surprising discovery had been made in the measurements of the Murwut province for last *khurreef* harvest. The *Ameens* took bribes from every Mullick in Murwut and registered about one-half of the produce on an average guess, without even going through the form of a measurement. A Mullick moved by some private enmity has revealed the whole and I have ordered the *Ameens* to be apprehended. These things are incidental to the old system and only show the necessity of a change. I should have been glad indeed if I could have sooner taken up the settlements of Murwut, Tank, Kolachee, Dera and Girang; but my immediate duty was the occupation and subjugation of Bunnoo, and it is with difficulty that I have found intervals of leisure to bring the settlement of the neighbouring province of Esau Kheyl very nearly to a conclusion. By a demi-official note from the Resident I learn that Lieutenant Taylor is to come here for six weeks, and this will enable me to proceed at once to Kolachee.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 30.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 30th and 31st of January 1848.

30th January 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—No business; very heavy rain, which they say has reached Murwut, and, as the harvest there was already unusually abundant and forward, the Murwutees are quite revelling in the prospect which their crops afford. The Sirkar's share of one-fourth will be a very large sum indeed. A little rain has also reached

Dera where it was dreadfully wanted. Unless some more falls during this next fortnight the Dera fields will not even be sown. Hitherto it has been impossible to sow for want of rain.

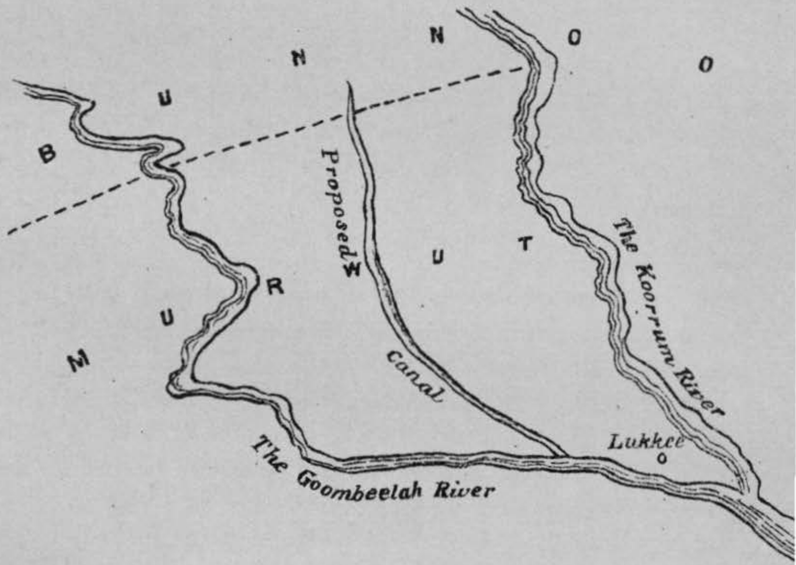
31st January 1848.—More rain last night, and considerable damage done to our fort, all the mud work of which is still wet and easily imbibes the rain. Once dry the Bunnoo mud is like iron. Rain has even reached Kolachee. This is unexpected good fortune, but it comes almost too late.

The zumindars on the borders of Bunnoo and Murwut propose to cut a canal, which shall bring under irrigation the "debatable land" which lies between them, a plain ten *koss* long, barren for want of water. Within the memory of many of them the plain has been cultivated, during some unnatural interval of peace and quietness in Bunnoo; but for many years the quarrelling at the head of the Koorrum canals has been so incessant as to prevent the irrigation from reaching barely to the southern *tuppahs* of Bunnoo. Now that the valley is occupied, of course irrigation feuds have ceased and the fertilising Koorrum is free to flow as far as it can. The proposed canal will cost little, the zumindars undertaking it themselves, and it will create quite a new country. There are, however, no less than eight or ten villages which claim a right to participate in the land, and therefore the division will be an affair of trouble. The sketch annexed will give an idea of the bearings.

Took the accounts of four or five *tuppahs* of Bunnoo.

Great complaints against one Ghuzza Khan, a Botunnee robber, who has gathered together a gang of outlaws at a place called Ghubbur, in the hills above Durrikkee in Murwut. The Murwutees assist him, it is said, and indeed without being on good terms with them he could not pass through their country with herds of stolen cattle. The equivalent to the Murwutees is exemption for their own flocks. This, however, must be put a stop to, and I shall first call on Ghuzza Khan to come in. Of course he will decline. I shall then forbid any village of Murwut to give him food or shelter, or water to drink, under heavy penalties. This will break up the present relations between them and perhaps bring the Botunnee and his band to terms. If not I think they might be *chuppaod* when there is more leisure than just at present.

Sketch showing proposed canal from the Goombeelah River
(Vide page 234.)



The latest news of the Dour rising that has reached me is that the Dourees have imposed on themselves a house and capitation tax, which is to realise 12,000 rupees, and Dillassah Khan's eldest son has bound himself to furnish 3,000 rupees. The whole sum, 15,000 rupees, is to be paid over to the Musjeed Vizeerees, who on these terms have agreed (observe the bond of union!) to lay aside their old enmity, and help the Dourees in their expedition. It would be a good joke if the Vizeerees took the money and then declined serving. They have often played this trick to the Povindah merchants, who tried to buy a safe passage through the Gwaleyree Pass. In no instance have they kept their faith. Dour sentries are watching the Bunnoo Pass to kill spies; but information is sure to ooze out. Even the Bunnoochees are denounced as "Hindoos" for having submitted, and are declared lawful slaughter to all true Puthans. The "insurrection" will probably be a bugbear for three months, at the end of which time the chances are rather in favour of its being found impracticable than practicable. Still it is necessary to make preparation for the worst, and I shall keep the plot in mind even if it should cease to be talked of for the present.

This evening I gave leave for 2½ months to about a dozen soldiers of different regiments, all Hindoos or Sikhs, whose marriages are fixed to come off during the next fortnight This is scarcely a time for leave; but owing to some unfortunate conjunction of the stars, I believe these marriages, if not celebrated this month, cannot be so for three years, which is a serious business to both bride and bridegroom. Six or seven men of the Dograh Regiment also applied for permission to resign the service. There is some engine or other at work at the homes of these men, which half persuades and half bullies them to go. His Highness the Maharajah of Jummoo claims the whole regiment and its arms as his own, though the Sikh Durbar paid Rajah Dhyan Sing in jageers for the special purpose of raising it. I refused the Dogras leave.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 31.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 1st and 2nd of February 1848.

1st February 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—After talking over the proposed canal to Murwut, and finding that the Mullicks concerned

contemplated a good deal of forced labour, I have promised to give 1,000 rupees towards the payment of the hired labourers, the proprietors of adjoining lands engaging to work themselves on so much of the canal as passes through their limits. The offer has been gladly accepted, and as the soil is better even than that in Bunnoo it will bring a rich return into the Treasury in the very next *khurreef*.

Really I am quite tired of recording plots and if it were not that an occasional attempt is actually made against my life, I should be ashamed also to mention them. This morning we have a new one. General Cortlandt tells me that a Havildar two days ago was accompanying a Khutree on some business or other along the road when they overtook some Bunnoochees, who were standing in earnest conversation. A word or two which the Khutree (who understood Pushtoo) overheard induced him to stoop down as if to extract a thorn from his foot, so as to hear more, and he gathered that on Thursday (the day after to-morrow) or Friday (the usual *ghazee* day) four or five conspirators, some of whom are working at our fort, are to try the effect of a simultaneous rush at my tent, experience having proved that one man is of no use. The stupid Havildar, instead of bringing in the men who held this conversation, did not even report it till to-day. Similar information has been given from another quarter to Colonel John Holmes, so to my former preparations of a pistol on my table, I must add now a sword by my chair, and soon I shall be regularly fortified like Robinson Crusoe.

Dewan, the Khutree of Bazaar, who on the 25th January brought a letter to the Artillery Commandant in our camp from Baba Ootum Sing, the Fukeer in Dour, and who was sent back with an answer, has again come with a letter from the Fukeer, who writes that the 25th of *Magh* is fixed for the rallying of the rebels. This, however, is not credible. The Khutree estimates the Muhsood or Musjeed Vizeerees at 10,000, the Turry Kheylees at 8,000, and the Dourees themselves at 10,000. He says it is not true that a tax has been self-imposed by the Dourees of 12,000 rupees to pay their allies, but that the agreement is that Dillassah Khan undertakes to feed the rebel camp "until our camp is plundered!" After that every conqueror is to help himself. The Vizeerees cautiously enquired "what agreement was to be entered into about the division of the spoil, and whether the

Dourees would engage not to fall on them as they return through Dour with their plunder?" This is excellent! Finally it was agreed that the Vizeerees were to have two-thirds of the booty, and the Dourees and Turry Kheylees the other one-third. An amusing suspicion is already afloat among the Dourees that I have given 3,000 rupees to the Vizeerees not to join. Two Brahmins, Fukeers of Hindoostan, who were making their way through Dour, were killed by the Dourees two days ago because they could not speak Pushtoo, and consequently were suspected to be my spies. Some Moollahs of Dour are still absent in Khost preaching the crusade. Dillassah's son continues to be talked of as the stirrer up of the whole, and he is reported to have sat at the door of a great Syud named Zeywur Shah, till he consented to arouse his disciples in the cause. Dillassah himself is sick and bed-ridden, but his rebellious spirit is as strong as ever, and he lies on his *charpoy* cursing the Bunnoochees and the Sikhs and the Sahibs.

2nd February 1848.—Received a visit from Sirdar Khwajah Mohummud Khan, and informed him that in future 200 sowars of the Barukzye contingent will be permanently employed in Bunnoo, and be relieved every six months. I asked him what proportion would be furnished by each Sirdar? He said 80 by Sirdar Sooltan Mohummud, and 60 each by Syud and Peer Mohummud. I expected he would have attempted to show that by the terms of their jageer the Sirdars are exempt from permanent service, but he made no such objection. He advanced another however: that there exists an *ikrarnamah* which was given with the Jageer, in which the Sirkar engages to pay the expenses of so many sowars as may be called for, during the period of actual service in the field, and that Rajah Lal Sing when he made the Sirdar bring 2,000 men down to Lahore to be his body-guard, though he did not fulfil this agreement, yet he gave them a *Batta* of seven rupees per mensem to each sowar. If this be true, there surely can be no *ikrarnamah*, for Rajah Lal Sing was in no position to curtail the privileges of men whom he was confiding in for purposes of treason. He was much more likely to have given them extra pay than to have put them on half *Batta*. I thought the best way was to advise the Sirdar to tell his father to lay the matter before Major Lawrence in Peshawur, who would of course inspect the *ikrarnamah* and send it on to the Resident.

Discussing with Khwajah Mohummud Khan the value of land here and about Peshawur, he surprised me by stating that in Kohat a *jureeb* produces in the year from 15 to 30 rupees, and that he takes two-thirds from his ryots. The Bunnoochees might derive a world of contentment from the comparison of this revenue with that which I propose to impose on them for the first three years, *viz.*, one-fourth from zumindars and one-sixth from Syuds. After three years I would raise both to one-third and one-fifth respectively.

A great collection of Syuds and Ooluma came to get instructions as to drawing up their statements of free lands, which I gave them in full. They also begged to be allowed to erect walls round their dwelling houses in the villages, now that the forts are knocked down, as every passer-by can see into their *zunanas*. I told them plainly that they were welcome to any indulgence consistent with the rules necessary for the peace of the valley; and though I could not give general permission to build compound walls for fear of its being abused, yet I would send a trustworthy person with any one who came to ask for it, who would go and inspect the premises and point out where walls may be thrown up. The Bunnoochees feel quite cold without their forts, but the fresh air circulating through their villages will do them good. The tone of the better class of Syuds and Ooluma who were with me to-day is much improved and probably will in a few months subside into something like contentment, as they see that after all their power is weak and their privileges not much entrenched upon.

Among other *Cutcherry* cases to-day was one of Azeem Khan, the Mullick of Drabund, who a few years ago was ousted by Dewan Lukkee Mull, reinstated by Futteh Khan, Towanah, and again ousted by Dewan Dowlut Raie, Lukkee Mull's son. His share would amount to about 1,800 rupees a year, and I shall consider the case when I go to Drabund. My reason for entering it here is that I should be glad of the Resident's opinion as to the state of the Drabund revenue. It is described to be in seven shares, four of which are enjoyed by the cultivators, two by the Puthans or drones who do nothing, and one by the Sirkar. This seems to me preposterous, but my instructions are in no case to take more than the Sikhs did. Otherwise it would be only fair to reverse the position of the zumindars and the Sirkar. A very similar state of things prevails in Kolachee, and it is this very point (*viz.*, the enormous *mulkeeut* of the

non-labouring zumindars) which has prevented me hitherto from closing the Esau Kheyl settlement. In fact all along the Indus these "Puthans" are a small body of gentry, whose title deeds to live upon the industry of others consist in the fact of conquest; and this is the right by which the State claims revenue. Two revenues therefore are perpetuated, the old and the new, or more correctly speaking the old revenue is divided between the old and new masters of the country, the Puthans and the Sikhs, the Puthans or conquered taking a larger share than their conquerors! The cultivating classes are Jats from Sindh and Mussulmen from the Punjab, who are deemed an inferior race and not honoured with the title of Puthans. A very slight examination of such a state of things shows that, however mild the revenue of the Sirkar, the people must be oppressed, and the Sirkar suffers both in purse and reputation. My idea is (which I submit with all deference, having had absolutely no experience in these matters) that the revenue taken from the people should be consolidated, and that whatever share of that revenue is assigned to be the right of the "zumindars" (as they call themselves without any trace of property) should be given afterwards from the Sirkar's collection. The people want no further reduction, as far as I can see, than to be relieved from a double revenue, or rather double collection, and the complicated exactions of two masters. But surely the zumindaree right should not be greater than the land tax? As I have to deal with these questions almost immediately, I shall be glad of the Resident's advice.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 32.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 3rd to the 7th of February 1848.

3rd February 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—Moonshee Geyndah Raie, appointed to this office, arrived to-day, having come from Lahore in 15 days. This promises well for his activity.

Nizamooddeen, spy, has returned from Dour. His account confirms those we have heard previously as to the intrigues of the priests and Dillassah Khan with the neighbouring tribes, and leaves no doubt

that there are great exertions being made to get up an invasion; but he says there exists the utmost alarm in Dour itself lest we should be before them and go there! The letter I sent to their great Syud, Zeywur Shah, telling him to mind his own business, had a most amusing effect. The Dourees immediately put Zeywur Shah's brother (who received it in his brother's absence) under arrest for carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the Sahib. In vain he urged that he could not help the Sahib writing to Zeywur Shah; he was not believed, and all confidence was given up in a moment in the brother of their great priest, adviser and guide. Similar reports are afloat also of my corresponding with Dillassah, but I should think that his enmity to the Sikhs was above suspicion. Nizamooddeen confirms the murder of the two Hindoostanee fukeers suspected of being spies, and says he resorted himself to the artifice of forging a letter as if from some Mullicks of Bunnoo to some Syuds of Dour, inquiring "how the insurrection was going on?" The Syuds received him cordially and wrote in reply that "the tribes promised very fair, but no reliance could be placed on them." He says while there he saw an incident characteristic of the Dourees. A poor beggar had some flour given him and sat down to knead it into bread. A Puthan drew his sword and cut off his head. The bystanders asked what he did that for? He replied "Poor devil; life was a burden to him. With what difficulty he got that bread!"

Esa Khan, *ghazee*, was hanged this day. He asked if any harm was to be done to his father and mother, and being assured not was satisfied, and only begged that he might be put out of pain as speedily as possible. Just before the execution a large snake crawled out beneath the gallows and was killed. The natives considered the circumstance as by no means accidental.

Concerning *dhurmurths*. The order is to confiscate all grants of Kardars, but what if the holders have enjoyed the land time out of mind, through the reigns of Kings and Nawabs and Padshahs, and Kardars have merely confirmed them during their own incumbency? I think this is quite distinct from a Kardar taking upon himself to give a fukeer a new grant and claiming as much respect as any royal grant. What King so great as custom? I should be glad of the Resident's opinion.

My bearer borrowed an old *juzail* and went out dove shooting. The gun burst and killed him on the spot. What with *ghazees* and accidents all my servants are in despair.

4th February 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—In taking the accounts of two *tuppahs* "asameewar," General Cortlandt discovered that the Mullick, Meer Alum Khan, had taken no less than 2,000 rupees from the people last spring, over and above the Sirkar's revenue, and still declared that the *tuppah* was in arrears. So much for the old rule. Our own with the infliction of one-fourth of the produce will be better than this at all events.

Occupied a great part of the day with taking evidence from soldiers of the Dograh Regiment, whose homes in the Jummoo territory are beset by *dustuks* from Maharajah Goolab Sing to force the men to bring away their muskets (which he claims as his, because they were made up by Rajah Dhyan Sing) or else pay for them. As if the Dograh brother Rajahs had not enjoyed an ample *quid pro quo* in the jageers given them for raising the Dograh Regiments. The claim to me seems as incomprehensible as it is mean. If the Lahore Durbar were to act upon this principle they would claim—

1st.—All the arms of the remains of Avitabile's four regiments, who, after the rout of Sobraon, went over to Goolab Sing.

2ndly.—Do. do. of Court's Regiments.

3rdly.—Do. do. of a Regiment of Dhokul Sing's, which after Aliwal went over to Goolab Sing, not only with its arms but its tents, camels, etc., complete.

4thly.—Do. do. of the Goorkha Regiment, which in 1846 deserted bodily from Huzara to Goolab Sing.

In short, Maharajah Goolab Sing might just as well claim the throne of Lahore, because Rajah Heera Sing was entitled by Runjeet in all *purwannahs* "Furzund-i-khas."

Heard from Lieutenant Taylor. He was to start last Monday, and to be at Kurruk next Monday (7th). I have sent 100 of the Barukzye sowars to escort him across the Thull from Kurruk, more for *istikhbal* than defence, as the Vizeerees of the Thull give me no trouble whatever. I only wish their brethren on the western side of Bunnoo were as orderly.

Heard from Dour through Swahn Khan from a Syud there. He says he is (like all Afghans) doing immense *khidmut* in dissuading his disciples to rise, and he gives me the friendly advice to take care of myself, as the Bunnoochees would be very glad to kill me! Swahn Khan takes a very serious view of the threatened invasion, and begs me, if I have any more troops within call, to reinforce myself. But then I make allowance for his never having seen regular troops engaged, or the effect of guns. Our 3,000 infantry might be put on the defensive certainly by hordes of horsemen, but we have only at the worst to walk inside our fort and blaze away from the bastions with 18 guns, when I am much mistaken if the rout would not offer a fair excuse for our issuing out and clearing the country of Vizeerees, Dourees, Bungushes and Khostees. In fact if our men only keep their hearts up all Cabul might come and not be able to touch us. I think our inner fort is 100 yards square, with walls 12 feet thick of mud, and already nine feet high. The outer fort is about 280 yards square, with walls six feet thick of mud, and already the height of a man. Inside this latter is our cantonment, so that the one defends the other.

5th February 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—As Taylor has a company of the Infantry belonging to one of the Regiments here along with him, he will be obliged to encamp one night in the Thull. I have therefore sent Swahn Khan, Vizeer, out to him to keep all quiet.

Told Swahn Khan, as he is going to the Thull, to collect the Thull Vizeeree *nuzzurana* of 250 fat *doombahs*.

The Bukky Kheyl Vizeerees, on the western side of Bunnoo, give so much trouble (Swahn Khan having control only over the Thull Vizeerees) that I see no resource but to put a *chokee* on their lands. Fortunately there is a pass into Dour just at that place, therefore the *chokee* will serve two purposes. There must be another *chokee* also at the other Dour pass, and both must be strong. So I shall bring 50 Rohillas from the garrison of Lukkee in Murwut (leaving still 150 and two guns) and put 25 in each *chokee*, besides 50 Barukzye sowars. There will thus be 75 men in each without any additional expense, and this will prove a great check upon the Dour marauders who will at all events not be able to drive away cattle.

6th February 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—No business. Walked over the fort which is progressing wonderfully. Our soldiers really deserve great praise.

Ordered a vegetable garden to be laid out for the sepoys, each company to have its plot. This will conduce both to their health and amusement when shut up here in the hot weather.

Nizamooddeen, spy, brought me a dirty oblong paper, purporting to be an invitation from Dillassah Khan to me to write to him, meaning that he would come in if he is asked. There was no seal on it, so I doubt whether it was Dillassah's sending, but at all events if Dillassah waits till I ask him again to come back, he will die in exile. I was kind to him last year, and he repaid it by running away. Therefore I should have no reliance on him if he came in. At the same time if he were to do so I should show him no farther rigour than taking security from him.

7th February—Camp Duleepgurh.—Received a warning from Shah Niwaz Khan of Tank to be prepared for the Vizeeree invasion. He has good information of the hill people in general, and so far he is quite right. He adds, however, that the Kanegoorrum Syud, Zeywur Shah, has told him that Swahn Khan is concerned in the rising. This I disbelieve after mature consideration—

First, because Swahn Khan has committed himself so deeply with me that he has made enemies of his own people, and if anything were to turn the tables he would probably be killed. His hopes are all from *me*, not the Vizeerees.

Secondly, because only two days ago he urged me earnestly to reinforce myself, as the invasion was certain to occur. Had he been in league he would have advised the reverse. King Henry V is the only man I ever heard of who rejoiced in the strength of his enemies.

On the other hand the reasons the Syud and his Vizeeree party have for slandering Swahn Khan are obvious. Angry at his having rendered me considerable assistance they would rejoice at nothing more than to fill me with suspicion, and procure the imprisonment of the old Mullick.

Swahn Khan's own man has come in rather *apropos* to the argument to inform me that he hears the advanced party of the Mahsood Vizeerees have arrived in Dour from Kanegoorrum. This looks like business if it is true, but though they talk of attacking in five or six days, I shall be surprised if they come to the point in as many weeks.

Took the *khurreef* accounts of three *tuppahs.*

Agreeable to instructions received from the Resident in letter No. 47, 31st January 1848, I sent for the muster roll of the Irregular sowars to see how many had been enlisted during the last four years. Nearly 50. I don't think any of the sowars are "unfit for service."

If the regiments here are (as I gather from the Resident's letter) not to be recruited, it will be quite impossible for any Infantry to leave Bunnoo this year, with these threats of invasion which may be realised any month in the year. The garrison I am allowed is four regiments of Infantry, but of course it was contemplated that they should be full, or nearly so. The Regiments of Bishen Sing, Zorakhun Sing, Soobhan Khan and General Cortlandt's Kuthar Mookkee, all put together, would only give me 2,096 men, or equivalent to 2½ regiments. Instead therefore of any regiment leaving here (the Khas Regiment was to go to Peshawar) I would request that the whole 3,000 Infantry now here remain throughout the year (except when on leave by instalments at a time) and that in the place of the Khas Regiment, the Regiment at Rawul Pindee, which was placed at my disposal, be sent to Peshawur. Lieutenant Nicholson writes me that he could spare two regiments if required, but if allowed to keep what I have I want no more. Six guns will go back from here to Peshawur.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 33.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 8th and 9th of February 1848.

8th February 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—Sookha Sing, Adjutant of Artillery, has received another letter from his friend the Sikh fukeer in

Dour, who writes that the plans of invasion were very near being given up for want of funds, but Dillassah has come forward with money, and now 20,000 Mahsood Vizeerees are actually collected, and a night attack will be made in five or six days. If indeed they are "collected," they must either fight soon or disperse for want of commissariat, but it does not appear *where* they are collected. If in Dour, the fukeer would have seen them, and said so, and if still in their own country they have plenty to do yet before they can come to the point. My own spy, Nizamooddeen, still sticks to his original version of the movement, that it is one of alarm, and the Dourees have offered one-tenth of their lands to the Mahsood Vizeerees to defend the rest from the Sahib. The Vizeerees, over-greedy, replied that the Sahib was taking one-fourth in Bunnoo, and therefore the Dourees must give them one-fourth for the pure preference of a Puthan to an infidel government! On these terms they are willing to occupy the passes into Bunnoo and become responsible for keeping the Sikhs and the Sahibs out. These Dourees certainly will never be satisfied till they introduce either the Sikh or Vizeeree wolf into their fold.

Nearly my whole day taken up with a case in which a Mullick last year promised to compound with Sirdar Shumshere Sing for the revenue of one of his ryots, and under this pretence, without in fact paying in a rupee to the Sirkar, squeezed a large sum of money out of the poor ryots when our camp had left Bunnoo. The Mullick now coolly says "he was keeping it till I came!"

Sirdar Khwajah Mohummud Khan called and informed me as usual that there had been another skirmish in the Kohat territory—all owing to his absence. He advises me to put this force into the fort. It will be time enough to do that when we are driven out of the open plain.

9th February 1848.—This morning "the latest news" of the invasion is that it is at last settled to come off on Friday. The "allies" (not being able to trust themselves in each other's company) are to advance by three different roads: the Khostees down the Koorrum, the Dourees down the Baran Pass, and the Mahsood Vizeerees down the Khyssore rivulet on the west of Bunnoo. The three divisions are to meet once to consult on a combined attack, and then advance in separate

bodies on the camp. My informant adds: "If the thing cannot be managed next Friday it will be given up altogether."

The only notice I have taken of this information is to send word to Lieutenant Taylor, who is to-day at Kurruk at the mouth of the Peshawur Pass, begging him to get his detachment into this camp on Friday morning, as should the information prove correct it will make little matter to *us*; but the mere fact of an enemy being in Bunnoo would probably induce the Bunnoochees to attack a small detachment. Should any attack be made on the camp, it will be at night, so that there is all Thursday and Friday for the detachment at Kurruk to come about 25 *koss*. This, however, is merely what I deem a proper precaution. I do not expect any attack just at present.

It appears that our presence in Bunnoo is making itself felt by our neighbours in every direction. Three days ago a *kafilah* of Khuttuk Syuds was proceeding down the Teeree Pass towards Bunnoo with grain, when the Vizeerees of that part sallied out and took forcible possession of the whole cargo, remonstrating against this exportation of the staff of life, which ought to be kept cheap for home consumption. "If you carry away corn to Bunnoo," the Vizeerees said, "you raise the price here in the hills, therefore you shall not take on your *kafilah* unless you give us 160 rupees, which will indemnify us for the rise in prices!" It is clear that free trade is little understood on this border! I have sent for the Chiefs of the tribe of Vizeerees concerned and hope to settle the affair amicably. Grain has been brought into this camp lately from Cabul and rice from Jummoo, an unaccountable report having spread to both places that we were hard pressed for supplies. Both speculations proved a failure, the corn being as cheap and the rice cheaper here than where the ventures came from.

The steamer has passed Kaleh Bagh in safety, though not without difficulty, Lieutenant Christopher writing that the Master of the vessel declined to take the responsibility of proceeding. Lieutenant Christopher was obliged therefore to take charge himself, and being willingly assisted by the Kaleh Bagh people got through in safety.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,

Assistant Resident.

No. 34.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 10th and 11th of February 1848.

10th February 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—Parade of Irregular Cavalry to discharge those of four years' standing and invalid the unfit for service. Thirty-nine were thus got rid of, in addition to those discharged at the former parade, and there are as many more whose cases are to be referred.

During the parade it was reported that some Vizeerees and other Kohistanees had been engaged almost all night in destroying a deserted *gurhee* at the head of the Koorrum in which I had determined on establishing a police *chokee* for the prevention of cattle stealing and other forays down the Dour Pass. Having been informed last evening that the Khostees and Dourees were to come down into Bunnoo on Friday and attack the camp at night, I thought it not impossible that they might now be lying in the pass close to the *chokee*, and this be only an ambush to draw out some of our men. I therefore sent a strong reconnoitring party of 300 Cavalry under Colonel John Holmes to drive off the hillmen who were destroying the *gurhee,* and make as many prisoners as he could, throwing out videttes to the pass, and when all was clear assemble the villagers near and repair the damage. On arrival he found that the Kohistanees had fled at his approach, first turning the water from a large *nullah* in the neighbourhood into the *gurhee*, so as to sap the walls. Besides this the damage done was of no great consequence, and to prevent further mischief I determined on occupying the *chokee* at once (without waiting for its complete repair) with 30 or 40 Rohillas and 100 of the Barukzye sowars.

My intention, as reported some days ago, was to have drawn off 50 men from the garrison of Lukkee, consisting of 200, and station 25 in each of the two *chokees* at the two Dour passes. But on enquiry I found that the old Rohilla garrison of Lukkee, which defended that fort so bravely in the spring of 1847, had all been discharged to make way for some new levies of a Lahore Moonshee! This is very disgusting. Who would give his blood for such a Government? In consequence 90 of these poor Rohillas are still hanging about in hopes that I, who know how gallantly they behaved, will do something for them. I have called on General Cortlandt for an account

of this transaction, and meanwhile, as the *chokees* must be occupied, have entertained 50 of the Rohillas for that purpose, for the Moonshee-raised levies are Hindoostanee *mokhtuhs*, not half men when they find themselves among Puthans, and it would not be safe to weaken them at Lukkee. To support the Rohillas I sent 200 of the Barukzye sowars, who will remain till the *gurhee* is thoroughly repaired and made defensible by a small party against any numbers. One convenience of this irregular warfare is that, the enemy having no guns, half a dozen men in a small mud *gurhee* can maintain themselves against thousands. The Sirdar did not at all like sending his men out on this duty, so I told him if his men would do *cooly* work at the fort in place of my Ghorchurras, the Ghorchurras should go out and do the picket duty of his Doorannees. He then offered me his head and the heads of all his relations.

A Mullick of Dour has applied to be allowed to come in and have an interview. I have told him to come to-morrow.

11th February 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—Last night Lieutenant Taylor and his party encamped at Luttummur, about nine *koss* from this. This morning accompanied by General Cortlandt I rode out to meet him, but as he started late I reached very nearly to Luttummur before we met. I had thus an opportunity of seeing once more the Thull and our new ryots the Vizeerees. The various tribes were encamped in their black tents on the sandy plain, here and there, with a little fence of firewood drawn round them to keep out the night wind and wolves from the hills. The white fleeces of the sheep grazing among the bushes showed a goodly amount of pastoral wealth, and the little sensation caused by our cortége spoke well for the reliance of the Vizeerees on the faith of our agreement with them. The peace they now enjoy in the Thull must indeed seem strange, for formerly not a week passed without two or three of their men being killed in some quarrel or other. Lieutenant Taylor came from Peshawur in eight days, which is good marching with a company of Infantry. He also brings with him two Havildars, two Naicks and 20 footmen, a Duffadar and nine horsemen of Lieutenant Lumsden's Guides. They seem rough and ready fellows.

Returning through the Sooraunee *tuppahs* to look after the forts, we saw only four left standing wholly or in part, three of which

were deserted and sown inside with wheat, and the other inhabited by two men only. Now that the inhabited villages have destroyed their own *gurhees*, they must clear away the few deserted ones also that remain.

Lara Khan, of Hyder Kheyl in Dour, came in to-day and made his *salaam*, putting his four villages and people at my disposal. His account of the Dour rising is as follows:—Reports came to Dour that the Bunnoochee forts were being knocked down, cattle seized, property plundered, the women seduced, and every other atrocity committed by the united Sikhs and Sahibs! The Dourees, their Mullicks and *Moollahs* thereupon held a kind of Parliament and voted an invasion; for they said, they will come here next, and we had better go forth and die in defence of our country, our forts and our women. So they agreed to take up arms against the *Kaffirs* in Bunnoo. Lara Khan determined to come and judge for himself how things were going on, and though all the neighbours told him he would never come back alive he set off and hid himself in the Meeree *tuppahs* of Bunnoo to see whether the soldiers came and plundered the cattle and carried off the women. He saw nothing of the sort. All was quiet, and all the people said "This is the first time for years that we have been able to cultivate these fields in peace. The Sahib came himself and broke down the Vizeeree dam and gave us water." This astonished him, and he thought, perhaps this is too far for the camp soldiers to come and do mischief, let me go a little nearer. So he came to another village near the fort of Duleepgurh and again watched for a day or two, but he saw no violence of any kind, on the contrary arms were laid aside and everybody went about his own business peaceably. At last he came stealthily into the very camp, convinced that there at least he would see the tents full of Afghan women and Afghan cattle. He says "I felt my heart bursting when I saw *Kaffirs* on every side of me, and I was nearly mad, but when I sat down among the crowd at the Sahib's tents and saw *adawlut* going on and *hundreds* coming with complaints, which were all listened to, then my heart was opened, and I went away saying, what lies they tell in Dour!" As he repeatedly said his friends would be surprised to see him back again, I gave him a bright green *loongee* and told him to go back and tell the Dourees that he had not only been into the *Kaffir* camp but been kindly treated there, and that the Sahib sent them all word that if they mind their

own business he will never come to their country, but if they attempt insurrections he will certainly treat them as a neighbour's house on fire, and extinguish them in self-defence.

No attack on the Koorrum *chokee* last night. A few fellows came down and fired a shot or two, but finding it occupied strongly retreated again. Two hundred workmen have been at it all to-day, and put up a gate, which makes the post secure.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 35.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 12th of February 1848.

12th February 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—Lieutenant Taylor with 50 horsemen rode out to the Koorrum *chokee* to see how the repairs were getting on, returned in the evening and reported the post now fully defensible. The Vizeeree Chief, Moorsil Khan, whom I summoned to answer for the attempt to destroy the *gurhee* three days ago, fully exonerated himself and the family of Momund Kheyl Vizeerees to which he belongs, but admitted that the Momund Kheylees, who live in the hills and have not yet been able to settle under the new régime, were concerned in the matter. I took a *mochulka* from him to be responsible for his own clan, and he gave it without difficulty, declaring that he would come and live in any part of Bunnoo that I liked, so as to have him under my eye, or that he would leave the valley altogether, if I thought him a disturber of the peace.

Mean Munawurooddeen (a priest who has furnished me with very good Dour intelligence) came to take leave to pursue his pilgrimage to Dera. He said all chance of the allies coming together was now at an end. Heavy snow has blocked up the Khostees and they have eagerly embraced the excuse to throw up the enterprise, and the Muhsood Vizeerees at the last moment, when collected in force for the descent, were suddenly thrown into confusion by a brawl in which the son of Jehangeer (one of their leaders) slew the son of Shahzad (another leader) and split the tribe into two angry factions. Their arms are now turned against each other. The Dourees deserted

on all sides are inclined to throw themselves into the predicament they so much dreaded and submit voluntarily to the Sikh yoke. A word would bring them all in, and trembling they await the punishment they believe awaits them. General Cortlandt has precisely similar information from another quarter, and I think the coming in yesterday of the Dour Mullick proves that hope is over in his own party.

When I first came to Bunnoo this year, I had occasion to summon a Povindah Chief of the Nassur tribe of wandering merchants, named Shahzad Khan, to answer some charges of robbery and faction fighting on the border of Murwut. He sent divers excuses, but never came. At length I sent him another *purwannah* telling him that I should fine him one rupee a day from the day that he had received my first order to the day that he presents himself, and I ordered the Kardar of Kolachee (near which town the Nassur *kafilahs* are encamped) to send him here by force if he would not come willingly. On this being communicated to him Shahzad Khan refused to come, and taking horse rode off to the hills. The turbulence of these merchants, who affect independence of the laws of the very country they are in, cannot be allowed to continue, and it is unfortunate that the occupation of Bunnoo required both my own presence and General Cortlandt's at the season of their arrival from the hills. I have a plan in my head for controlling them next year and securing at one spot and one time, both the customs dues on the Cabul merchandize and the grazing tax on the caravans, by removing the out-of-the-way fort of Dubrih to the mouth of the Goleyree Pass, which is the only road these merchants can come by. They will then be obliged to pay in advance at a narrow spot from which they will be only too glad to emerge, and not have the opportunity of spreading themselves over the whole Derajat, defying sowars to hunt them out. For the present case I have directed orders to be sent to the Kardars and customs men not to allow a single Nassur camel load to pass, either over the Attock or into the Mooltan *ilakah* at Dera Ghazee Khan, until the head of the tribe, the said Shahzad, comes in. This will bring him to his senses I daresay.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 36.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 13th to the 15th of February 1848.

13th February 1848.—Lieutenant Taylor, General Cortlandt and I rode out to see the progress of the new road from Duleepgurh to Lukkee in Murwut. It is under the charge of a Commandant, who has laid it out as straight as a battalion on parade, and, being 30 feet wide, it will not only be a highly useful work when completed, but, when planted with mulberry and sheeshum trees on each side, be exceedingly beautiful. Our own Sappers and Miners work upon this road, but the chief part of the labour is furnished by those *tuppahs* through which the line runs, nor do I consider this infringing the general rule against forced labour, for not only is this first highroad an extraordinary occasion on which all should lend a hand for the common good, but in making the road the zumindars are saving their own fields from being trodden down. Moreover they have now no cultivation to attend to, and they are kept in good humour by a great roasting of fat *doombahs* at the end of every *koss*.

Sookha Sing, Artillery Adjutant, received another letter from his friend the Sikh fukeer in Dour, who confirms the accounts received yesterday of the break-up of the hostile alliance in consequence of the blood feud which has broken out among the Vizeerees of Mahsood and the blocking up of the Khost passes by snow.

He says, however, that Dillassah's son, Sheikhee, finding an invasion hopeless, is organizing a band of thieves, and intends to make forays on our cattle, a very important conclusion to all his threats of annihilating our camp and dividing the spoil with half a dozen nations.

14th February 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—On the west of Bunnoo just under the hills are some rather extensive lands occupied by a tribe of Vizeerees called Jannee Kheyl, who have never yet come in. Just as this force reached Bunnoo the Jannee Kheyl Vizeerees were worsted in a faction fight with the Nassur tribe of Cabul merchants (whom I have yet to call to account for bringing their mountain feuds along with them into our plains), and in consequence they fled to the hills, where in great misery they have passed the winter, begging food and clothes from other tribes. At last this morning they sent deputies to me to beseech me not only to allow them to return to their lands

but to defend them against the Nassurs, and recover their stolen property. They have no *zaminee* to give, as nobody ever goes security for a Vizeeree, so I have agreed with them that if they behave ill, either plundering themselves, or not seizing other foragers, their revenue will be raised so as to pay the expense of the *chokee*, which I am about to locate in that direction. If on the other hand they conduct themselves peaceably, nothing more than one-fourth will be taken from them. They signed a paper to this effect and went away contented to recall their brethren from the hills where they are hiding.

Mean Munawurooddeen, who the day before yesterday took his leave to depart to Sungurh, declaring that he could no longer be useful in furnishing me with Dour intelligence, as the idea of invasion was abandoned, called again this morning with fresh alarms. He says the Vizeerees in spite of their own quarrels have now intimated their adherence to their former promises, and are indignant at the shilly-shallying of the Dourees, and that in consequence next Friday is named for our annihilation. To throw complete ridicule on this new alarm, the Mean quite seriously informed me that the plan of attack is as follows:—A party of skirmishers are to display lights in one direction to attract our notice, and *when all our guns are brought to bear on that point*, the real onset is to be made from the opposite quarter, and 1,000 picked men in chain armour (*zirruh bukhtar*) are to cut their way to my tent, and make mincemeat of me!*

In a former Diary I reported that an extensive fraud had been detected in the *jureeb-kushee* of the last *khurreef* in Murwut, and that the Mullicks of that province had been sent for. This morning they waited on me, and after a long discussion confessed that a great part of the land had not been registered, but with that "honour among thieves" which natives invariably display in the matter of bribery, they refused to disclose the details, so as to convict the Kardar and his people. In one *tuppah*, other *jureeb-kushees* have been sent, and the result of a re-measurement of three villages has been to establish a fraud of nearer three-fourths than two-thirds of the revenue. I therefore proposed to the Mullicks of the Byram and Dreyplarah *tuppahs* that they should either have their revenue raised two-thirds, or a new

*Where men who have not got shirts to their backs are to find chain armour remains unexplained.

measurement of the ground with appropriate punishment and loss of *mulkeeut* in case of conviction. All then consented to pay anything rather than have a new measurement, and I raised their quotas as follows :—

		Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Byram ...	... from	4,658	5	0	to 13,974	15	0
Dreyplarah	... from	5,150	15	4	to 15,452	14	0

which I am convinced is not equal to the Sirkar's one-fourth, if honestly revealed, but it is too late in the season now to delay collections for any more measuring. I told them to go away and distribute these sums among themselves, and then come and register the shares of the zumindars. They went away mysteriously promising to consult among themselves, and make a representation to-morrow, so perhaps they will still disclose the truth.

15th February 1848—Duleepgurh.—The two *tuppahs* of Murwut above mentioned are still in conference deep, perplexed sorely between the obligations of the oaths they have sworn to the Kardar and their own immediate interest. A third *tuppah*, however, named Totuhzye, in which the fraud was first revealed and which is consequently at variance with the others, came forward this morning with a petition to be *allowed to pay double the revenue registered against them by the Kardar*, receiving credit for the bribes they have given. I have agreed, on condition that they reveal all that occurred in their own *tuppah*, and the whole day has been occupied in taking their evidence. The result will be that the Kardar will be smashed and the *khurreef* of Murwut prove nearly 50,000 rupees instead of 27,000 rupees.

Rain all day, and heavy snow on the hills. The weather certainly is more favourable to crops than to insurgents. Whenever the latter fix a day, a snow storm nips their project in the bud. To-day also I hear that a party in favour of peace has sprung up so strong in Dour that they talk of either murdering old Dillassah Khan, or of sending him down to me in chains.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No 37.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 16th and 17th of February 1848.

16th February 1848.—A Bazaar Khutree named Dewan, who has hitherto given me correct information about movements in Dour, came this morning to tell me "that Dillassah Khan's son has gone from Dour to Khost to conspire with Sirdar Akram Khan, son of Ameer Dost Mohummud, who is now either in Khost or Koorrum collecting tribute, and that the invasion is by no means given up." I think both the fact and the opinion may be correct, and I am quite sure that very active efforts have been, and still are being, made to bring the tribes of Khost, Bungush, Kanegoorrum and Dour together; but I draw therefrom the inference that it is next to impossible for the said tribes to come together and act in concert. Else they would have done so before this in spite of the snow. On the other hand they are more likely to be tempted to a descent six weeks hence when the corn harvest is ripe.

The Mullicks of the Byram and Dreyplarah *tuppahs* of Murwut still keep their oaths to the Kardar, and refuse to disclose the details of the revenue fraud, preferring rather to have their revenue raised at my discretion. I have therefore raised it two-thirds as an experiment, and fined the Mullicks in the full extent of their half year's "Inam." To this they made no remonstrance, but seemed terribly puzzled between self-interest and fidelity to their friend the Kardar. On looking closely at the Kardar's *kusrah* papers it appears that the enormous discrepancy in the revenue has been accomplished by three methods—

First, by suppressing upwards of half the land.

Secondly, by underrating the produce on what land was registered.

Thirdly, by commuting the Sirkar's one-fourth at an unfairly low price of grain.

A more extensive peculation I have not yet met with, though I am afraid it can only be brought home to the servants of the Kardar, and even they are not forthcoming. There are some papers connected with the last *khureef* which must be got out of the hands of the Kardar, and which I hope to do to-morrow or next day, after which I intend to imprison the Kardar. He will then probably

produce his servants, and they to save themselves will convict him. In any event, however, he is the party responsible to Government. It is very discouraging to find one man breaking down after another from sheer corruption. Stupidity might be educated, but dishonesty can only be detected and punished. This Kardar of Bunnoo, Murwut and Esau Kheyl (Sheikh Gholaum Hussein) promised well in other respects, was conciliating to the people, and amenable to authority. And probably his successor will be as corrupt without being as useful. Yet there is no other remedy apparently than taking up specific cases and never sparing them, till the Kardars as a class surrender to the honest requirements of the times.

Yesterday evening news came of disturbances at Girang; this evening a report has arrived from Sirdar Chunda Sing at Dera to the effect that the Sheraunees are rising to attack the fort of Drabund. In the fort there are 50 *mokhtuhs* and 50 sowars. Sirdar Chunda Sing should have gone himself to assist so small a garrison, and taken with him as many men of the Sikh Regiment at Dera as have recovered from the Lukkee fever. Instead of this he has merely sent 50 more sowars, and writes here for orders. I daresay, however, the Sheraunees will think better of it. I have sent Chunda Sing 10 *zumboorahs* and 50 sowars from here, and told him to go himself with at least 200 Infantry, and say that I am coming with countless guns. Indeed the sooner I go the better. This Dour invasion seems a "Will-o'-the-wisp," and the troubles of Kolachee, Drabund and Girang are tangible realities. I suspect this *ilakah* of Dera Ismael Khan, lying as it does all along the foot of the hills, can never be quiet altogether. Either at one end, or the other, or the middle, there must throughout the year be a threatened invasion or a real foray to keep one's wits at work. But Bunnoo is now satisfactorily disposed of, and in my approaching tour through the other provinces I shall be able to see their weaknesses and make rough police arrangements for their protection. General Cortlandt too will return to Dera when I come back to Bunnoo; so that "the powers that be" will be more evenly distributed.

17th February 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—Lieutenant Taylor with 50 sowars rode out to the Tochee river on the west of Bunnoo, to select a site for a *chokee* to serve the treble purpose of watching the Pass up that river to Dour, keeping the Bukky Kheyl Vizeerees in order

and protecting the Bunnoochees of the Meeree *tuppahs*. These last are the men for whom I procured water to irrigate their fields for the sowing, and Lieutenant Taylor says their crops are now very promising.

The highroad between Murwut and Tank (and consequently the channel of intercourse between all these valleys north of Tank and Dera Ismael Khan) is through a Pass called Peyzoo on the southern border of Murwut. It is practicable for guns, and a great deal of commerce would flow backwards and forwards through it if it were not infested with thieves. In the autumn these rascals had got to such a head that they quite stopped the road, and General Cortlandt appointed one Pahlewan Khan and seven sowars to keep the Pass open. These men have worked hard and done well, but still it is insufficient. I have therefore taken the matter in hand, and resolved to put a small tower in the Pass at a place where water oozes out of the ground, and where all *kafilahs* would encamp if they dared, instead of making an enormous forced march to get clear of the neighbourhood. In this tower I have appointed the following men as patrols:—

	Monthly pay. Rs.
Jummadar Mittoo Khan in charge of the *chokee*	20
His brother Sher Khan	15
Pahlewan Khan	13
12 other sowars picked by the above three men	120
10 footmen, Puthans	50
1 Bheestie	5
Total ...	223

General Cortlandt in sending up his plan for the police duties of his district proposed 50 men for the Peyzoo Pass; but I am quite convinced the above 25 men will in a fortnight render the road secure for caravans of any extent. Mittoo Khan and Sher Khan, and their men, are natives of this border, and know every corner of it, and they are tried and picked men, who served with credit under Major Mackeson at the Khyber Pass. Moreover they have been out of service a long while, and are poor and hungry, and the percentage of 10 rupees allowed on all recovered property will tempt them to face anything.

The zumindars of the Dreyplarah *tuppah* of Murwut came in a body to petition against having their revenue raised two-thirds on account of the fraud in the measurement, and began by denying *in toto* that they had kept back any land. "Then," I said, "you shall have a new measurement, but remember you will be punished if you prove guilty." A consultation ensued which lasted all day, and at last they left me, still undecided whether to give up the Kardar or not; but at night they sent in a petition declaring "that all their lands had been properly measured, but as the Sirkar was of a different opinion they had no objection to pay double what was registered." This is "straining at a gnat" certainly. I must have them confess the fraud in plain terms before I agree, but I am prepared to do so, as Cortlandt argues very fairly that, though all have suppressed a half, and some two-thirds, it would bear hard on many if the latter standard was assumed. The addition of half alone makes a difference to the Sirkar of 20,000 rupees; not a bad discovery in these hard times.

Took the accounts of two Bunnoo *tuppahs.*

Bazeed Khan, Sooraunee, accused of being himself in communication with the insurgents, came to report that 4,500 men have actually left Dour to descend upon the Daood Shah *tuppah.* All the notice I took of this was to strengthen the *chokee* at the head of the Koorrum, and as the nights are now moonlit the gentlemen, if they come, will meet a warm reception.

One Ruggonath, who has been I understand out of service for three or four years and been about the person of Rajah Tej Sing in the character of domestic astrologer, has arrived here with a *purwannah* making him a Commandant in one of General Cortlandt's troops of artillery. General Cortlandt has already a Commandant to each troop, which is sufficient for duty; two only breed dissension. He is appointed to "take the place of the Feringee Canara," who formerly was in this Artillery, and therefore he would be above the Commandant now in the troop, thus adding injustice to a bad arrangement. Mr. Canara has been sent to Huzara in charge of another troop, and has got no Commandant, yet, as he is constantly drunk, it is said the work of his troop always devolves on those below him. He therefore wants a Commandant. Why not send this Ruggonath to him? There he would be useful, here very much in the way. It is after long consideration that I this very morning

incurred the expense per mensem of 223 rupees to keep open the Peyzoo Pass, and in the evening arrives a man posted by the Durbar to a sinecure which would pay that whole police station.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 38.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, for the 19th and 20th of February 1848.

19th February 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—General Cortlandt has prudently decided on putting his own people in charge of the various ferries of the Indus in his *ilakah*, for one month, before he sells the contract to the boatmen or others. He will thus have a tolerable idea of the receipts. Accordingly he has this day told off the following soldiers for the duty, all steady men who can read and write:—

Ghat of Dera Ismael Khan	1 Sergeant and 2 Sepoys.
Do. Drabund	1 Foorria, 1 Sepoy.
Do. Morjungee	1 Sepoy.
Do. Kaleh Bagh	1 Sergeant, 2 Sepoys.
Do. Bulot	1 Foorria, 1 Sepoy.
Do. Shunkee	1 Sepoy.
Do. Esau Kheyl	1 Sergeant, 2 Sepoys.
Do. Kanjun	1 Foorria, 1 Sepoy.
Do. Kuheeree	1 Sergeant, 2 Sepoys.
Do. Girang	1 Foorria, 1 Sepoy.
Do. Kirree Khyssore	1 Sepoy.
Do. Futteh Khan	1 ditto.

They are to pay up every fortnight.

For the last week or nine days I have had a man lying in wait in a village at the foot of the Tochee Pass to Dour, on purpose to bring in at any hour of the night news of any movement that may be made. All is, however, now so quiet that he has got tired of the job, and came back this morning to tell me that an old Vizeeree friend of his returned yesterday from a tour through Dour and Kanegoorrum and says all idea of a rising has now been abandoned by everybody except Dillassah's son, who still flits restlessly from one tribe to another trying to get up a flame.

This morning I concluded the accounts of the last *khurreef* harvest of the Bunnoo *tuppahs* and find that the revenue will amount to Rs. 56,676-10-9

for that *fusul*. Probably there has been a great deal of concealment in this estimate, made as it has been under very peculiar circumstances, but considering that all the crop was cleared off the ground (with the exception of the sugar and turmeric) before our camp reached Bunnoo, we must think ourselves very fortunate to have made so much out of it. In this account also three *tuppahs* are altogether excluded, *viz.*, those of the Upper Meerees, whose lands were completely thrown out of cultivation by the Vizeerees cutting off their irrigation. The following is an abstract of the proprietary of 17 out of 20 *tuppahs* of Bunnoo, as returned in the *khurreef* statements of 1904:—

Proprietors.	Forts.	Land.	
		Kunahls.	Marlahs.
Bunnoochee Zumindars ...	234	89,891	12½
Syuds and Ooluma	44	18,958	16½
Vizeerees	...	5,633	15
Total ...	278	1,14,483	4

The above gives a very false idea of the extent of the Vizeeree settlement and possession in the valley. The 5,633 *kunahls* registered above are merely what the Vizeerees have obtained inside of the *tuppahs*. The 20 *tuppahs* of Bunnoo form a little isle of thickly wooded cultivation in the midst of a sea of open plain and sandy Thull, which surrounds them on every side, and it is in this plain and Thull that the Vizeerees live and have their forts—or rather had them, for they exist no longer. As yet the *jureeb-kushee* of these outside lands is not complete. It will be seen by the above abstract that the share both of the villages and the lands possessed by the religious classes is only one-sixth. I had expected it would have proved one-fourth and am very glad it is not so. About 15,000 rupees have already been collected on account of the *khurreef*, and the shares for the remainder will be given out to-day to the Mullicks.

Wrote a *roobukaree* to General Cortlandt requesting him to put Sheikh Gholaum Hussein, Kardar of Esau Kheyl, Murwut and Bunnoo, under arrest, and suspend him from his functions until he shall clear himself from the suspicions which rest on him in consequence of the discovery that his servants had defrauded the Sirkar of 20,000 rupees of revenue in the last *khurreef* of Murwut. There are three reasons for believing that the Kardar is a party concerned, corresponding with the

three modes in which the peculation has been effected, and I shall be only too happy if the Kardar can give a satisfactory refutation of them, for on the whole he is one of the best Kardars in the *ilakah.*

Facts.	*Inferences.*
1st.—Only half of the cultivation of Murwut has been brought under measurement and registered. This all the Mullicks allow, and ask it as a favour that only as much again as is registered may be put upon them. The Mullicks of one *tuppah* acknowledge that the *jureeb-kushes* took bribes to do this, the others evade the question.	*1st.*—If the Kardar was not a consenting party to the taking of bribes by the *jureeb-kushes*, those men would not have dared to take them, knowing full well that the zumindars would complain to the Kardar if they did not wish to give bribes, and in any case the Kardar would be sure to hear of it.
2ndly.—On the half of the cultivated lands which the bribed *jureeb-kushes* registered, the rate of produce per *beegah*, at which the Sirkar's one-fourth share of the corn is calculated, is about half the real produce, so that half the real ground and half the real produce of that half reduces the revenue to a quarter of what it ought to be.	*2ndly.*—Supposing it to be credible that the *jureeb-kushes* could hide from the Kardar half the harvest of the country, still the honest Kardar would calculate the produce of the registered half fairly, but as he has not done so the inference is that he is not honest.
3rdly.—Having stolen half the land, and then half the produce of the other half, the pittance of corn conceded to the Sirkar has been commuted into money at a rate one-fourth below the market price.	*3rdly.*—Granting *pro argumento* that the *jureeb-kushes* could persuade a Kardar that half of his country was the whole of it, and that half the produce was a very good harvest, still no accident could possibly happen in commuting the grain into money, because the Kardar himself settles the *nerrick* weekly with the Buniyahs and himself takes credit in his accounts for so much grain as he supplies to the Sirkar's Artillery. Yet on the

same day this Kardar furnished grain to the Artillery at one price and commuted the revenue corn at another. What other inference can be drawn except that he did so as a part of the comprehensive scheme of peculation which these facts disclose?

20th February 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—Lieutenant Taylor took a muster of the Barukzye contingent, there being reason to suspect that many men had been sent away to Kohat. Out of 800, about 700 were forthcoming, the rest the Sirdar acknowledged had gone on one message or another to Kohat and Peshawur and not returned In other words he had sent them to help his brother in subduing a *yagee* tribe, without asking my leave. I have written to Sirdar Sooltan Khan to send them back again.

The immense quantity of mulberry trees, which shade the water-courses of Bunnoo, suggested the idea to me last year that if ever I came here again I would try and introduce the silk-worm. About a month ago I wrote to Sirdar Goolab Sing, Pohoovindeah, and Lieutenant Taylor, at Peshawur, to offer land and Government protection in Bunnoo to any families of silk growers who would come down and settle here. The silk growing in Peshawur has been quite destroyed by the Sikhs cutting down the mulberry trees for firewood and it was with difficulty that at last one man was found in Peshawur. He embraced the offer willingly and came here with Lieutenant Taylor. After looking about the valley he says it promises a rich return, but the trees are at present wild and require pruning. This he will come and do himself in three months' time, and the trees will then be in proper order for next year. He now returns to Peshawur to collect a small colony of silk growers, and procure eggs from Cabul. I shall give the silk growers houses in our new town and afford them every encouragement to develop this new source of prosperity.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,

Assistant Resident.

No. 39.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation to Bunnoo, from the 20th to the 23rd of February 1848.

20th February 1848.—A queer sort of a bit of paper, bearing the seal of old Dillassah Khan, was brought to me this morning as an *urzee* to me. On examining it, it appears to be a note to his son in Bunnoo suggesting general messages of submission, but saying nothing about coming in. "If you go south, you have my younger son with you, and if you come north, my eldest is at your service," and so on. (*Mem.* This "eldest" is the individual who has been stirring up the Dourees to invade us!) I shall make no reply. Dillassah has not yet had enough of exile to make it desirable he should return just yet. When he is tired of Dour he will be very glad of permission to come back, and even then he should give security. I have shown no anxiety about him or his family, and the consequence is that his once dreaded name as head of the Bunnoo *ghazees* is almost forgotten. Indeed there is something very ridiculous in the style of Bunnoochee rebellion. It consists in running away to the neighbouring hills and threatening never to come back to the said rebel's fields and home, which is very much like a spoilt child threatening not to eat his dinner to spite the nurse. Neither the acres nor the canals that water them follow their angry lord, and there are plenty of well-disposed and industrious cultivators who would be only too happy to settle among them.

21st February.—On the 14th of this month the deputy of the Jannee Kheyl Vizeerees agreed that the tribe would give up plundering. This morning a Murwutee has come in to complain that they have carried off ten of his camels from their grazing ground. I have sent out a trustworthy person (Ubeezur Khan, Koondee) to enquire into the matter, and bring the Mullick of Jannee Kheyl into camp. The task is very difficult to deal with these borderers in such a way as to conciliate them into settling down, without compromising the dignity of the Sirkar. Nothing could be easier than to revenge a case like the present; but it would drive the whole tribe into the hills as thieves and foragers ten times worse than they are now. The true policy, I am convinced, is to encourage them to take root in the valley and become more of cultivators and less of vagrant shepherds and thieves. On the other hand justice must be done to the injured, and *some* punishment brought

home to the offenders. I can think of no other than cutting their crops, bit by bit, till the stolen property is restored.

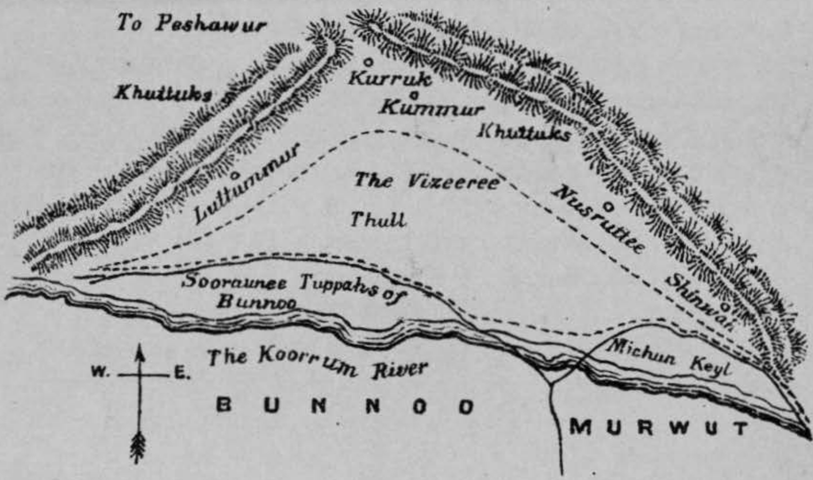
The Nawab of Dera has sent his *Motbir* to ask leave to go and reside at Noorpore in the low hills of the Pind Dadun Khan district, during the next hot season. He is a complete valetudinarian, sitting in water all the summer and being fanned all winter. I have begged him to do as he pleases, but to leave his jageer in the charge of some responsible person, for my idea is that, finding the zumindars rather troublesome, he wishes to throw the burden of it on General Cortlandt, and quietly enjoy the rents.

The Cabul merchants are giving great trouble in the Tank district. They think nothing of driving a herd of camels into a farmer's field, and then drawing their swords on the proprietor if he remonstrates. Shah Niwaz Khan has just seized 17 out of a band of them thus offending, and I have ordered them here for trial.

Sirdar Khwajah Mohummud Khan, Barukzye, has been a long while trying to persuade General Cortlandt (knowing it would come to me) that by rights the Thull of Bunnoo belongs to the Khuttuks of the neighbouring hills, in other words to his father's jageer. This morning a case of Khuttuk plundering brought the question on, and I had up the Sirdar's *Motbir* and a Khuttuk witness to state their pretensions, and before they left off they not only advanced their landmark to the edge of the Thull, but a long way into the *tuppahs* of Bunnoo. In fact they proved about a hundred times too much. After hearing all their story and everybody else's who knows the country, I see no reason to alter in any respect the boundary which, so far back as 17th December 1847, I laid down in my agreement with the Vizeerees, which is described by the dotted line in the annexed sketch.

The Vizeerees have occupied the Thull inscribed within the dotted line for upwards of 20 years, and five years' possession has been decided by Colonel Lawrence to give them a sufficient title to cultivated lands in the *tuppahs* of Bunnoo. The proper head of the Khuttuk tribe at present is Sirdar Khwajah Mohummud Khan, Khuttuk, of Teeree, who is a dependant of the Barukzyes. His influence is very weak among his people, and he only collects revenue from the villages on the edge of the Bunnoo Thull by an occasional foray. It is necessary, however, that he should make them responsible in some way for their

Sketch showing land held by the Vizeerees
(Vide page 264.)



good behaviour, for now that Bunnoo is occupied, it cannot be permitted that the Khuttuks should plunder travellers going and coming between Bunnoo and Esau Kheyl and Kaleh Bagh. I have accordingly written to the Teereewallah inviting him down to a conference with Lieutenant Taylor upon these points.

The chief Syuds of Bunnoo called to take leave of me, and be introduced to Lieutenant Taylor. They expressed themselves well satisfied with the one-sixth at which they are assessed, and seem now for the first time to be assured that they are not to be put on the same level with the lay zumindars. Their spirit is sensibly changed for the better. I had an opportunity to-day also of gratifying a very large community of them, who possess nine villages, all in a cluster. These villages had been included in the Tuhseeldaree of Lal Baz Khan of Bazaar, but they consider it derogatory to their dignity to have a lay Mullick put over them, even to receive their revenue. I have therefore separated them into a district of their own, and they have appointed the most influential of their body to be their Mullick, and given in an agreement that if the Mullick fails in his duty, or they in their revenue, the nine villages will be again included in the Tuhseel of Bazaar. I explained that this was only conceded to them on account of there being so many of them in one spot, possessed of so much property: a similar immunity from lay control cannot be granted to the other Syuds of Bunnoo, scattered as they are in twos and threes throughout the villages, and indeed they have all lay Mullicks already. An amusing thing occurred at this interview. After consulting in whispers for some time with their heads together, and assuming a very mysterious air, the chief Syud at length said that they had a question of some moment to ask. I said: "Speak on." "We wish to inquire," replied the spokesman, "with all imaginable respect, whether we may be allowed to eat our own mulberries when they are ripe?" With difficulty preserving my countenance, I said: "That requires consideration." "Of course—of course—certainly. We thought it was by no means a clear point," After deep reflection for five minutes I said: "Very well; you may eat your own mulberries, on one condition, that you never cut down a mulberry tree and plant young ones every year." This was agreed to, and, fully convinced as ever were the Commons of England that they had wrested an important privilege from the Crown, they retired rejoicing.

Colonel Sooltan Ali Ahmed Khan of the Heavy Artillery, who has been stationed at Lukkee in Murwut, arrived with the four out of his six guns which are destined for the fort of Duleepgurh. He also brought up some magazine stores for these regiments. The other two guns of the heavy battery remain in the fort of Lukkee.

22nd February 1848.—Ubeezur Khan returned from his expedition to the Jannee Kheyl Vizeerees and reports "that the tribe repudiate the Mullick who came in to treat with me, and though in no way wishing to avoid the payment of revenue, they are too poor to become responsible for robberies which may be committed by others, etc., etc." When therefore their crops grow up, a field or two must be cut away for forage, and they will then probably bring back the stolen camels to save the rest of the harvest.

The zumindars of Girang, who are continually harassed by the Ishteraunees, have petitioned through the Kardar for permission to retaliate. This I have refused, but told them they are at perfect liberty to defend their lives and property when attacked, with the sword if necessary. I will myself punish the Ishteraunees if necessary when I go that way.

Rain has at last reached Dera and Kolachee. Heavy rain here also.

23rd February.—Violent rain all night and all to-day and much damage done to the works in the fort.

Engaged all day in winding up the Esau Kheyl settlement which alone delays my departure for Kolachee.

I recommend that Ruggonath Sing, the extra Commandant sent up here to be provided for in General Cortlandt's Artillery (where there are two already), be put into Zorakhun Sing's Regiment, where there is a vacancy for a Commandant in consequence of Zorakhun Sing being promoted to a Colonelcy. Ruggonath Sing has served both in the Infantry and Artillery, and was originally in one of the company's Native Infantry Regiments. His pay is now Rs. 100. If he is to be employed at all, it had better be raised to the standard for Commandants—*viz.*, five rupees a day.

The eldest son of Mullick Futteh Khan, Towanah, arrived from Mittah to tell me he had collected 22,000 rupees as a first instalment

towards his father's debt, and begged of me to procure his father's release, without which it is impossible to make up the money. The fact is that Futteh Khan, never expecting to be brought to account himself, never took any accounts from his relatives, who were his chief Kardars, and they now use all their influence by bribery at court to keep the Mullick in prison and save themselves from being brought to book. Futteh Khan has now been a year in Govindgurh suffering all that imprisonment must inflict on an energetic mind, and it is not probable that he would delay his own liberation if he had the wherewithal to procure it. In this part of the world, where the Mullick is well known, it is the universal opinion that he has no money stored up but that his Kardars owe him much. Anything therefore that may be got from him will be by taking his son as bail, and releasing the Mullick that he may have an opportunity of meeting his difficulties. His enemies in the Durbar keep him in prison out of spite, not on account of his liabilities. As for the Mullick running away, and being rebellious, the idea is ridiculous. Where is he to run to? What posts is he to hold out? It is making too much of him altogether. I have told Futteh Sher Khan, his son, that when he has actually paid the 22,000 rupees into this Treasury I will forward his petition for the release of his father on bail.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,

Assistant Resident.

Political Diaries of LIEUTENANT HERBERT B. EDWARDES, *Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation in Bunnoo, D. I. Khan and Trans-Indus, 1848.*

No.	Period.		Page.	Remarks.
	From	To		
1	28th February 1848	29th February 1848	271	
2	1st March 1848 ...	4th March 1848 ...	274	
3	5th March 1848 ...	9th March 1848 ...	279	With sketches showing disputed boundaries between Tank and Kolachee and positions of Ferries.
4	10th March 1848 ...	19th March 1848 ...	287	
5	20th March 1848 ...	23rd March 1848 ...	293	
6	24th March 1848 ...	27th March 1848 ...	295	
7	28th March 1848 ...	30th March 1848 ...	300	
8	1st April 1848 ...	6th April 1848 ...	305	With sketch showing the position of the Sheraunee tribe.
9	7th April 1848 ...	16th April 1848 ...	309	
10	17th April 1848 ...	22nd April 1848 ...	315	
11	8th May 1848 ...	...	321	

NOTE.—No other Diaries of the year 1848 are traceable.

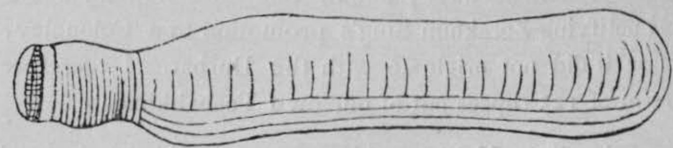
No 1.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation in Bunnoo, for the 28th and 29th of February 1848.

28th February 1848—Camp Duleepgurh.—In the morning early had a Durbar to take leave of the officers of the force, and make them all over to Lieutenant Taylor. I desired them to tell their men how pleased I was with their cheerful assistance in building the fort, and took the opportunity of installing Colonel Zorakhun Sing in his new rank before them all, as an instance of merit rewarded without either solicitation or bribery. It is usual on these occasions for the Durbar to send a *khillut* to the promoted officer; but in this case nothing came but a *purwannah* notifying Zorakhun Sing's promotion to a Colonelcy, probably because it did not originate with the Durbar. I therefore gave him a present of 125 rupees out of our own Toshahkhanah.

Afterwards all the Mullicks of Bunnoo assembled to be made over to Lieutenant Taylor; the ceremony of "soopoord" being exactly the same, and regarded with as much respect among the Afghans of these parts as it is among the Sikhs of the Punjab. Until the income of each Mullick can be ascertained and compounded, I have assigned 5 per cent on their collections to the small Mullicks of villages, and 5 per cent to the superior Mullicks of *tuppahs*, total 10 per cent. on the whole revenue, which is probably under what will ultimately have to be given. Jaffir Khan of Goreewallah has a *sunnud* of exemption from revenue for one-fourth of his *tuppah*, and the claim is registered in the Lahore Duftur. It was originally given for "*khidmut*" in the days of Sikh difficulty in Bunnoo, and as he continues to be zealous in serving the Government I have confirmed the grant. To Lal Baz Khan of Bazaar, at the suggestion of Colonel Lawrence, I have shown similar favour, for his good conduct and example last year and this. Last year he *alone* paid the whole of his revenue and then advanced the revenue of another quarter *tuppah*. Both then and now our camp was dependent on him chiefly for supplies, which he never failed in furnishing.

Left camp about 8 A.M., and instead of going straight to Goreewallah made a detour (accompanied by Lieutenant Taylor and General

Cortlandt) to the ruins of the Greek city at Akra, where our workmen are digging out burnt bricks. The bricks are about 12 inches square and 3 thick, and are the only burnt bricks to be found anywhere in Bunnoo. Rarely indeed are bricks of any sort used. Bunnoochee houses are all constructed of loose mud. We are surprised at the small influence which the civilised community of Europeans exercise on the people of Hindoostan. Yet from all appearance here was a large colony of conquerors as far advanced as ourselves in the arts of life, and centuries have passed without the aborigines imitating for their own benefit so obvious and simple an improvement as hardening with fire the materials of their architecture. Among the ruins was dug up a perfect draining tile similar to those used at the present day in England, as described below.



At Akra I bade goodbye to Lieutenant Taylor, feeling sure that Bunnoo, with all its cares and difficulties, is in good hands. At present I see no element of danger in any quarter; even assassination has subsided. But carrying out the first revenue collection, mild as it is, with the Vizeerees, will require all the good temper and judgment of the officer in charge. These qualities are possessed in perfection by Lieutenant Taylor.

Arrived at Goreewallah about 2 P.M. It is a considerable village, and the whole population (who live off the road, and had not before seen the "Furingee Sahib") turned out to behold me as if I was a wild beast. Swahn Khan, Vizeeree, arrived and found me sitting among these people, whereupon he commenced saying his prayers violently, and on my asking him what was the matter said "he hoped God would preserve me from these rascals; but it was madness to let them come so near." Probably the Bunnoochees at the very same moment were wondering how I could trust myself to sit alongside of a Vizeeree, and watching to see at what precise point of the conversation Swahn Khan would put a *peshkubz* into my stomach. The mutual hatred of these two tribes is as good as an establishment of spies to the authorities.

29th February 1848—Camp Gundee in Murwut.—Before leaving Goreewallah I had a long interview with Swahn Khan, Vizeer. He has just returned from collecting the Vizeeree *nuzzurana* of 250 fat *doombahs* from the tribes in the Thull; and he had been so long about it that I was anxious to ascertain whether he had experienced any difficulty. He did not say that he had, but from his asking to have the Vizeeree revenue reduced from one-fourth to one-sixth, I conclude that his countrymen are not quite prepared to fulfil that part of the agreement. My view of the policy to be pursued towards them is quite that of conciliation, to induce them by every just means to take root in Bunnoo. But the main point must not be forgotten, that we are settling Bunnoo and not the Vizeeree hills, and I conceive that it would not only be unjust but most impolitic to assess the small body of the Bunnoochees higher than the comparatively small community of Vizeeree settlers. And one-fourth of the produce of the soil is in fact so nominal a revenue as revenue rates go in these parts (*vide* Kohat and Peshawar, where I understand one-fourth only is ultimately left with the ryot) that if the Vizeerees will not give this much, it is certain they would not give anything. The result remains to be seen, but though it is not improbable that many Vizeerees may think it a very clever thing to run away with their next *rubbee*, and trust to fate for the *khurreef*, I am still sanguine as to this great difficulty being gradually and peaceably overcome.

From Goreewallah to Gundee is about six *koss* and all waste, though beautiful land. There is no water. This is the tract through which I am now bringing a canal from Bunnoo, and as the fall of the land is very considerable I expect there will be no difficulty in irrigating about 12 *koss* square of country by next autumn. This will about double the revenue of Bunnoo when settlers have come in sufficient numbers to cultivate the whole. I think of putting a town in the heart of it as a nucleus of population, and sinking a well or two at the public expense therein.

The village of Gundee is inhabited by one out of three tribes who have been at war for generations until this year. On an average there were three stand-up fights a year, and the Kardar assisted one side or the other with sowars (of course for a consideration!) The consequence is that in all Gundee there are only two old men, who are rather looked down on for not having been killed in their prime.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 2.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation in Bunnoo, from the 1st to the 4th of March 1848.

1st March 1848—Camp Lukkee in Murwut.—Marched from Gundee to Lukkee; six *koss* of land waste for want of irrigation, a defect which I hope my new canal will supply before next *khurreef*. The Khan of Esau Kheyl is afraid that the said canal will be an injury to this country, by lessening the supply of Koorrum water which goes to Durrah-i-Tung at the head of Esau Kheyl. Into this I have fully inquired, and find that about once in three years the Koorrum is dry for four or five days at Durrah-i-Tung, in the month of *Bhadoon* and *Asooh*, and rarely indeed for ten days; so that for so speculative a mischance I think it would be foolish to forego the benefit of populating a desert of 12 *koss* square.

The heavy rain has battered the fort of Lukkee much more than the besieging Afghans did last year, and when the Bunnoo fort is completed, masons, etc., must be sent to repair Lukkee thoroughly.

The new Thannadar of Lukkee, Mohummud Ali Khan (son of Hyder Ali, the Aloowallah's *Motbir*), seems a fine young fellow, and I shall be glad if he stays in so out-of-the-way and dismal a post, which I scarcely expect.

The prisoners in the fort of Lukkee are without any maintenance and depend on the charity of the garrison for food. The Kardar seems to have stopped their allowance for the last three months. I have ordered them to receive three-fourths of a seer of *attah* daily and written to enquire of General Cortlandt why the allowance has been stopped.

The town of Lukkee has quite recovered from last year's burning, and is now flourishing.

In a conversation with the buniyahs of Lukkee they mentioned a law of mortgage as prevalent in Murwut, which is still more absurd than that in force formerly in Bunnoo. *A* pawns his land to *B* for 500 rupees, and keeps the ground under cultivation himself, paying a small share of the produce to *B* (generally one-tenth). But if *A* dies, *B* has no further claim on the land, because the actual man who borrowed the money from him is no more, and his debts are not inherited with his estate. It is needless to add that the *A's* are

the Afghan landlords, borrowers and law-makers, and the *B's* the buniyahs who earn, and lend, and lose.

2nd March 1848.—Marched to Teetur Kheyl, and in doing so traversed the centre of the valley of Murwut, which is a sight truly beautiful to the eye of anyone who cares about the welfare of the people around him. Nothing is to be seen but corn. In the lands of two or three villages only has the hail done any real injury, but there it has cut away the wheat as if with a scythe. I have more than once reported the arrangement which I came to with the Mullicks of Murwut, after discovering the enormous fraud which they had practised in collusion with the *jureeb-kushes, viz.,* that as they had registered and paid up 21,000 rupees for the last *khurreef*, so they shall now pay as much again, and have no farther measurement. To this they readily consented, but they have endeavoured to the last to throw a thin cloak over their roguery by getting up at every village on the road a demonstration of women to shriek, throw dust into the air and cry "uruz lurree!" "I have a petition." With these Amazons I have fought several severe actions, though bloodless and good humoured, for they set at naught all sowars, and seizing my horse by the bridle, and me by the legs, reduce me to captivity, while the whole bevy open their mouths, and themselves laughing heartily, keep up for half an hour the same shout of "uruz lurree"! What the "uruz" is they never attempt to explain and perhaps do not understand, leaving the accounts to their husbands who are hiding round the corners and enjoying the embarrassment of "the Sahib." The whole is dramatic, not real, and scarcely ever has a zumindar followed it up by coming to my tent to ask for a reduction. In fact it is much like the one shot which aKilladar fires to save his honour when he has made up his mind to surrender. For zumindars to give up a fraud without a scream would be monstrous. This custom, however, of thrusting forward the women is very remarkable in an Afghan country where, in general, they are kept so jealously secluded that if a man was to observe by accident that a neighbour went twice running to the same well with his wife he would think it necessary to avenge the affront. Along with me there are many Afghans, and whenever they catch sight of the blue-petticoated crowd emerging from a village to attack me a universal cry of "Tobah! Tobah!" announces how shocked they are at the impropriety.

The Head Mullicks of Murwut attended at my tent this evening to be made over to the acting Kardar, Devee Doss, and said not a word about reducing the revenue. Indeed the fact is that the prosperity of Murwut is already the envy of the neighbouring provinces. One sum, *viz.*, one-fourth of the produce, embraces their whole contribution to the State. I have not seen a naked man in Murwut, all are comfortably clothed, and even the only beggar who has asked me for charity turned out to be owner of a plough.

In all the villages of Murwut there is, I believe, only one well; a tradition prevailing that water is too deep to be reached. Outside of each village therefore they dig a tank to catch rain water, but when this is exhausted the people have to go from two to 12 *koss* for water every day. The task is entrusted to the women, and they are occupied 12 hours of the 24 in many places in going and coming with the mules to and from the nearest spring. The poor who have no mules have to walk to the water themselves. This is a serious inconvenience, not only to the people but to travellers, and troops might be unable to move across the valley at a time of drought. I have determined therefore to sink a *kutcha* well at this halting ground, and if water is obtainable make the well *pucka*. The example would soon be followed.

3rd March 1848.—Marched through the Peyzoo Pass on the border of Murwut and Tank and encamped at the southern entrance. It is here that I before reported my intention to put a *chokee* of 15 sowars and ten footmen to keep open this door of communication between the provinces of Dera, Kolachee, Drabund, Girang, etc., on the south, and Murwut, Esau Kheyl and Bunnoo on the north. This morning I fixed upon a site for the tower and selected the sowars and footmen from several *oomedwars* from Kolachee, many of whom served formerly with Major Mackeson. The *chokee* will form a nucleus for a village, which is much required here as a halting place for caravans and troops. At present, go which way you may, there is no village nearer than 12 *koss pucka*, nobody daring to settle in the neighbourhood of the pass.

A sowar brought word from Dera that the Kardar of Bhukkur on the Mooltan side of the Indus refuses to bring over the money for the pay of the Bunnoo troops, and insists on one of General Cortlandt's *Motbirs* going over there to count and receive it. This is one of the

constant bickerings which are the result of Dewan Moolraj's *moshuksah* of Mooltan. I have heard but few dissentient voices to the general good opinion of his internal management of that country, but having had now some experience on his border, I can say with truth that to all intents and purposes Mooltan is a separate kingdom, every one of whose interests seem to be in thwarting those of the surrounding districts. In the present case, after long delay, it appears that only a portion of the money due on the Sirkar's *tunkhwah* has been sent to Bhukkur, and for the remainder the Dewan sends another *tunkhwah* on a relative at Leyah! I have written to the Bhukkur Kardar to make over whatever money he has to Sirdar Chunda Sing in Dera, and to the latter to forward it on to Bunnoo.

Wrote to Shah Niwaz Khan of Tank to meet me at Tukwarah, that I may hear how he gets on.

4th March 1848.—Marched to Tukwarah in Kolachee, a distance of about nine *koss* from Peyzoo, and all land lying waste for want of water. Here the Khirrotees (a tribe of Cabul merchants) graze their flocks of *doombah* sheep and camels, paying *tirnee* to Tank.

Tukwarah is a large village which has once been populous, but is now half deserted in consequence of the excessive revenue which the cultivators have to pay. Their ancient custom has been to divide the land into eight shares, of which the Sirkar took one, the Toomuns or zumindars three, and the ryot four, out of which again both the ryot and the zumindar paid cesses to make up deficiencies in the heavy *moshuksah* of the Sirkar, so that in the end not more than one-third remained with the ryot, which is wretchedness in comparison with the condition of the ryot in Tank, Murwut, etc., to which countries a large share of the cultivators have migrated, leaving the remainder doubly as bad off as they were before. Such is the general poverty that the *khurreef* as yet has not been collected, and the Khan's sepoys are now in every village trying to wring it out of them. I have at once let off half the amount of the cesses on ploughs, and turbands, and shops, and this by gratifying the people has given I hope an impulse to the collection. Nothing can be worse than the present state of the country, but a slight glance at the shares of revenue suggests at once the remedy, to lighten the cultivators and cut down the zumindars or Toomuns. The people of Tukwarah in their

distress have allowed even their canals and dams to go to ruin, thus perpetuating their troubles. The first thing I did was to send a sepoy to collect the zumindars of each canal to repair their dam, every man who absents himself to be fined two annas a day. In a fortnight the whole five dams will be restored and a quantity of water saved, which is now all running to waste. Sirwur Khan of Tank, grandfather of the present Kardar, had a good saying that "whoever wasted the irrigation was a murderer and should suffer capital punishment, as the water which he spilt was the blood of the people." In the same way the men of Tukwarah are committing suicide.

Gooldad Khan, of Kolachee, the apathetic owner of this afflicted country, has not even thought it worth his while to come to meet me on his border, though he knows that his own incumbency hangs upon the balance, and that I am come, if possible, to help him, but certainly to help his people, even if it requires his expulsion. I do not attribute this to disrespect. It is downright ignorance and stupidity. His uncle and cousin have come and say they could not get him to stir, as he fancies he is collecting the revenue.

Some time ago I saw in the Kolachee *Ukhbar* that a Ressaldar, named Sirwur Khan, had come from Rajpootana on leave to his home in Tukwarah and had made a boast of being sent on some special mission by Colonel Sutherland. I intended, but forgot, to write and ask his business. This morning on the line of march he appeared, and with a mysterious air said aloud that he would tell me his business in private. Arrived at my tent he declared that Colonel Sutherland had deputed him to come and do *khidmut* for me in the Gwaleyree Pass (the Povindah route to Cabul which enters the Vizeeree hills on the western side of Tank), and when closely questioned, though he dropped the inuendo of going to Cabul, he still persisted that Colonel Sutherland told him to go and bring in the Vizeeree Chiefs of Gwaleyree to any Sahib who was on duty Trans-Indus. I asked him if he had any writing to prove so incredible a story, and he said he had, but it was with his clothes in Kolachee ; it was a Persian *purwannah* from the Colonel to the effect above related. I can only conjecture that as the man is a native of Tukwarah and was coming on leave (he is a servant of the Raja of Tonk) he got an introduction from Colonel Sutherland to any

gentleman in this direction, but it is a pity, as these reports are very mischievous, and fly far and wide.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 3.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation Trans-Indus, from the 5th to the 9th of March 1848.

5th March 1848.—Marched to Huttalee, about 6 *koss.*

Gooldad Khan of Kolachee at last presented himself at Tukwarah, just as I was about to leave. He offered no excuse, but I attribute his not coming to meet me at his border solely to ignorance.

The company of General Cortlandt's Kuthar Mookkee Regiment, which has been in Tank for the last few months, joined me this morning, having been relieved for that purpose by a company from Dera Ismael Khan.

On arriving at Huttalee I took Gooldad Khan into my tent and enquired if he had got ready the five years' statement of the revenue of Kolachee, which is required as data for the settlement, when it appeared that he had in two months only made out three years, the rest being still undone! As I have not only to settle Kolachee, but Girang, Drabund and Dera, and have no time to lose, I woke Gooldad out of his natural lethargy by solemnly assuring him that if he did not produce the return in two days I would remove him from his country. He took horse and rode off to Kolachee with an energy I never saw in him before. Subsequently his Vukeel represented to me that the village Putwarrees were not even collected, and that it would take two days to collect them alone. I therefore extended the time of grace to four days. But with all the work before me which I have to do before getting back to Bunnoo this delay is most vexatious. Meanwhile no sound but "Furyad! Furyad!" meets my ears, and my tent is besieged all day with the most distressing clamours for a reduction of the revenue and a "bundobust" for the future. This circumstance alone proves how real is the distress, for the people in general, from ignorance, are opposed to a revenue settlement, which they cannot believe to be anything but a device to squeeze more money out of them. It is right that

I should prevent all misconception here, by stating my opinion that Gooldad Khan is no farther responsible for the ruin of his country than that being a man of very weak mind he has ameliorated it by no measures or remedies of his own. The Sikhs have continued to raise the revenue of Kolachee till it got to a pitch which could not be borne, *viz.*, 61,000 rupees. The ryots then deserted it, but the revenue was not reduced. It was collected from those still clinging to the wreck, by fines and confiscations, and Dewan Dowlut Raie in his last year, when no earthly power could extract the revenue from either Khan or people, actually forced them all to borrow from *shroffs* at Dera several thousands of rupees and sent this to Lahore as the produce of a province! I saw sufficient of what was going on last year to make me earnestly intercede with Colonel Lawrence for a reduction of the Kolachee revenue, and 13,000 rupees was let off. But it came too late. It found a country without cultivators, the irrigation dams neglected and destroyed, and the fields lying waste for want of water. The reduced revenue is positively not to be got out of the country, and these cries of "Furyad" are from rate-payers still in debt to the *shroffs* for the revenue of last year. The Khan is really a man of good heart, though a great idiot, and I know not which is the greatest object of compassion,—his people yelling at him for exacting the Sirkar's revenue, or he blubbering in the midst of them.

6th March 1848.—To Kolachee, about 6 *koss.* There is hardly a sign of cultivation to be seen in the whole country. The rain fell too late as if everything conspired against this wretched Kolachee. When I neared the city, the whole population moved out in a body, and raising their hands in the air cried out with one voice "Furyad Sahiblog di! Sahiblog, furyad!" I acknowledge both the power and the justice of the appeal, and by God's help will lighten the burdens of the poor by a more equal distribution of the revenue than is now in force. But it will take two years to bring Kolachee round. I rode through the city, which is large and desolate. There are, however, still 400 families of Hindoos.

Gooldad Khan's mother wrote me a touching appeal on behalf of her son, and reminded me of a circumstance I had forgotten, that I released her last year from prison, where she was confined by Dowlut

Raie as security for the revenue of Kolachee(!) an enormity which disgusted me much at the time. She says, from that time forth she became my purchased slave, and throws herself and children upon my forbearance. Nevertheless I refused to accept a *seeaful* she sent until the five-year return is produced, as Gooldad is one of those apathetic men who can only exert themselves under imminent necessity.

The Futteh *Pultun* arrived all right from Hussun Abdal.

The "Toomuns," or gentry of Kolachee, came to represent the poverty of the land with as much seriousness as if they had not been for years partners with the Sirkar in plundering the people, *e.g.*, this last *khurreef* the Sirkar's share of the produce was 9,000 rupees, that of the Toomuns 18,000 rupees. Yet they shrink from paying their share of the "cesses," which are so large an item in the Kolachee revenue. I have released the lower classes from much of theirs, as already reported, but I gave the Toomuns a week in which to pay up their share or take the consequences. They are a regular set of bloodsuckers.

The artisans of Kolachee were the next assailants, and they came with justice on their side. I had before remitted three out of the six rupees imposed upon them, of which they were not aware. They informed me, however, of a circumstance which I did not know before, that the tax called "Shops" is in fact on "Shopmen," a capitation tax, which much increases its severity. Could anything be more absurd in a political economy point of view than to thus hold out every discouragement to the extension of business. It has driven the majority of the artisans to Tank, Murwut, etc.

Next came the Buniyahs, a favoured but still (of course) complaining race. Konwur Nao Nihal Sing for the honor of Hindooism inflicted the injustice on the people of Kolachee of excusing the Buniyahs from paying revenue. Notwithstanding that they contribute nothing to the State, they loudly complain that the Khan does not protect them, that the Sheraunees come down and walk off with a Khutree as if he was a sheep or a cow, and then send word to his friends in the city that his price has been fixed at 500 or 700 rupees. Should it be necessary to continue any taxes on shops and trades, I shall feel it my duty to

make the Buniyahs bear their share, however unpopular such impartiality may be in the Lahore Durbar.

The Hindoo Kardars of Gooldad Khan came to see how things were going. These fellows, I had been told privately, have not rendered an account for six years. But I held my peace, for as yet I scarcely see my way through this mass of arrears and debt, and future settlement, without data.

7th March 1848—Camp Kolachee.—As we were pitched in a very confined spot yesterday, at sunrise this morning I moved the camp to the south-west side of the city and encamped on the left bank of the Loonee river, or as it is more correctly termed in Tank the Gomul. This river is now rushing by with a volume of water which would irrigate Kolachee for six months, yet the dams being neglected, the stream pours itself idly into the Indus while the people starve. It is too late now to repair the great dam. It cannot be done till the water subsides. A few *koss* from us rises the well known mountain called "Solomon's throne" over which at this moment Nature has spread a truly imperial covering. It is inhabited at the foot by the Sheraunee tribe, and on the heights by fukeers, to whose huts the Puthans of the Derajat go on pilgrimage.

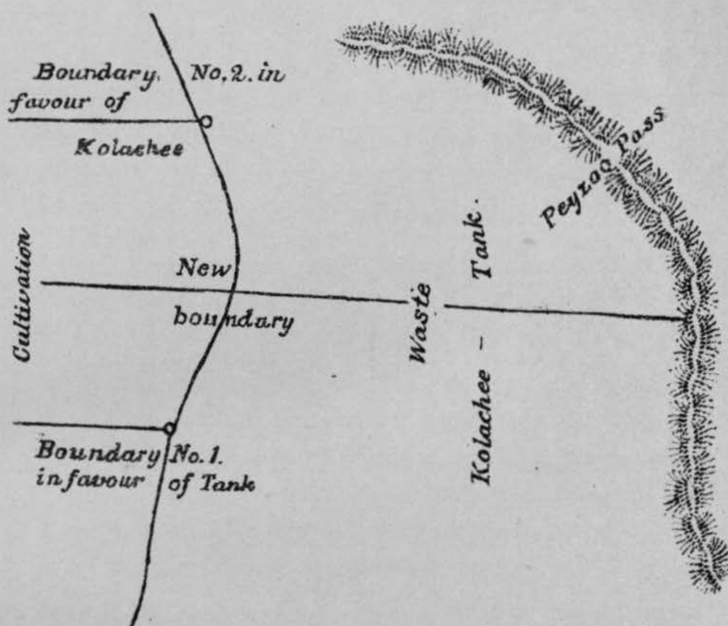
A long and fatiguing day's work, endeavouring to discover the elementary fact—who has got the accounts of Kolachee revenue for the last six years? There are three gaps in the five-year return :—

1st.—Six months, wherein the Toomuns or Afghan zumindars were the Kardars, and of which they never could be got to render an account; and in which they are supposed to have sacked 20,000 rupees. Dowlut Raie once took the matter up, but as his own *Motbir* took the opposite side, the enquiry ended without any regular account.

2ndly.—Eighteen months during which the country was managed by Ali Khan, uncle of the present Khan, at the end of which Ali Khan and his son were imprisoned in the fort of Ukalgurh, and their houses sacked, their papers going with other property.

3rdly.—Six months in Futteh Khan Towanah's time.

Sketch showing disputed boundary between Tank and Kolachee.
(Vide page 283.)



Having at last made this out, I got the names of the particular Toomuns, seven in number, who had been the Kardars, and sent for them to my tent, when I put them all under arrest in a tent which I made Gooldad Khan provide for them, and informed them that unless they rendered a full account of their stewardship quickly to the Khan, I would put them in irons. They then named the Buniyahs who had their accounts, and they were made over to them, when they went into the tent assigned them and commenced work, declaring that Gooldad Khan had never before demanded an account. Next I thought the only way to get Ali Khan's accounts would be to reconcile him with his nephew Gooldad, which was accordingly done, as also with Kaloo Khan, the son of Ali Khan, the whole three embracing in the most affectionate manner. Gooldad's very stupid face really looked intellectual with delight, and Ali Khan promised to make out an account of his 18 months, in spite of the destruction of his papers. It is very difficult to keep Puthan relations friends.

Shah Niwaz Khan of Tank (whose arrival two days ago I forgot to mention) produced a most complete return of the last five years' revenue of his country, though he has never had it in his hands before, and has been in exile for two years. The contrast between him and his neighbour of Kolachee is just that of common sense and stupidity.

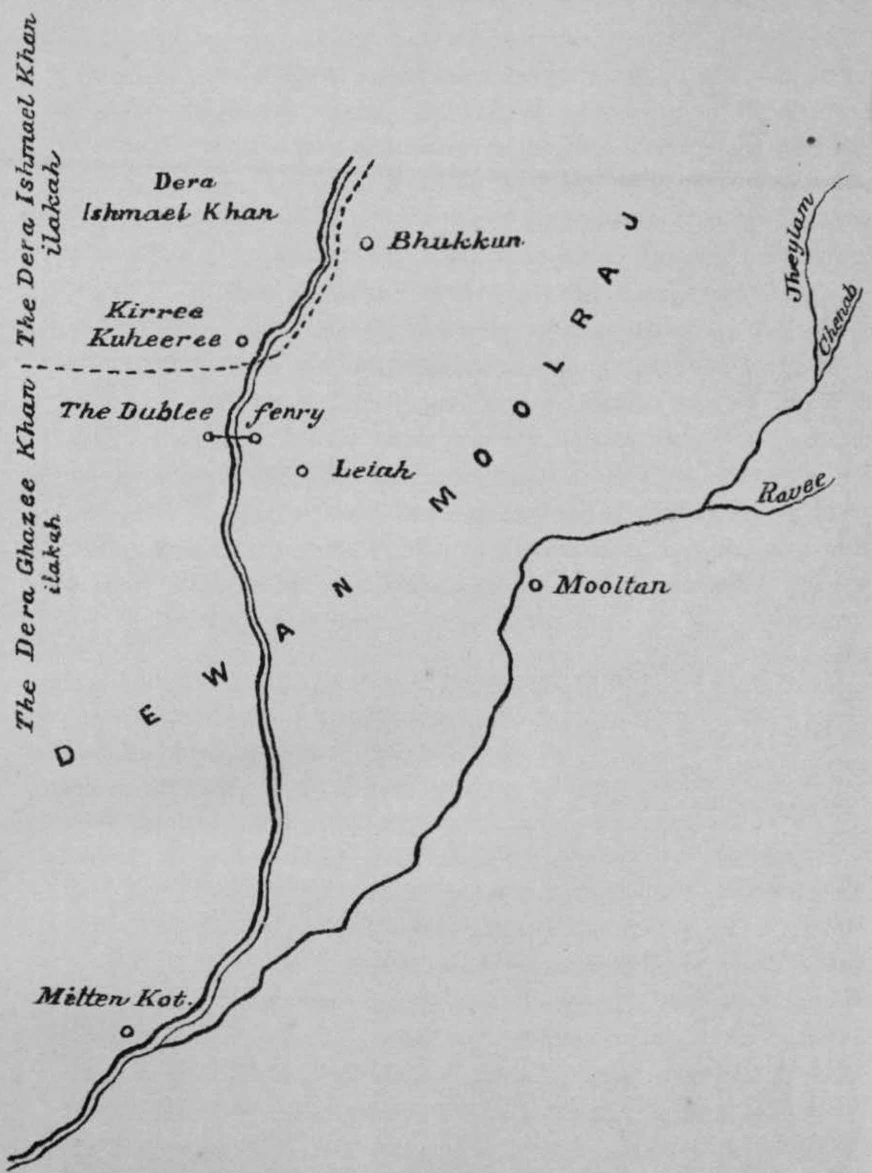
Concerning the waste land at the mouth of the Peyzoo Pass between Tank and Murwut, on which I wish to establish a village, it has been agreed that two *moonsiffs* shall be appointed from Tank and two from Kolachee to lay down a boundary between their respective countries, and whereas two former boundaries have been laid down, and both are now disputed, I have ordered the new one to be exactly, between both, as shown in the annexed sketch. Parties from both territories have come forward to cultivate, and, instead of giving the land free for three years, I have, for the benefit of the Khans of Tank and Kolachee who hold their country in *moshuksah*, settled that the revenue for six years shall be half what the rate is in those parts.

8th March 1848—Camp Kolachee.—To-day I had up the Ressaldar, Sirwur Khan, from Rajpootana, who represented himself to be a servant of the Nawab of Tonk, and a kind of political ambassador of Colonel Sutherland, the Rajpootana Resident. I was quite sure the man was an impostor, but I did not think he would have proved such

a fool as he did, for to prove his story, he produced a letter addressed to all and every one of the Sahibs in these parts, from Colonel Sutherland. It was impossible to catch sight of it at the distance of many yards without recognising the handwriting of an Afghan *Moollah* of the lowest acquirements in penmanship and spelling. I never saw a worse written and spelt document even in Bunnoo, and when opened of course there was neither Colonel Sutherland's signature nor seal. The Khan's Vukeel then informed me that this Ressaldar came to Kolachee and represented himself to be a person of great importance with the *Sahiblog*, and advised the Khan to entertain him, as I was completely under his thumb and could not do anything contrary to his (Sirwur Khan's) will and pleasure. The Khan had hitherto been giving him Re. 1-4 a day, but this last assertion of the Ressaldar's excited his suspicions and he declined having anything more to say to him. I taxed him plainly with having got the letter written in Kolachee, but he denied it stoutly. I have therefore sent him to Ukalgurh for the present, there to remain in confinement until the Resident, to whom I have forwarded the proceedings, can make enquiries as to his character and mission from Colonel Sutherland. My belief is that he has been discharged by the Nawab of Tonk, and is a mere adventurer trying to lie himself into an appointment.

When at Peyzoo, I sent a *purwannah* to the Kardar of Bhukkur (one Peryah Mull) in the Mooltan *ilakah*, just opposite Dera, ordering him to deliver over the Mooltan treasure for the pay of the Bunnoo troops to Sirdar Chunda Sing at Dera. He has actually sent back my *purwannah*, declaring that his master is the Mooltan man. Accordingly I have requested Sirdar Chunda Sing to decide the question of mastery by sending 25 sowars across the river, and bringing Peryah Mull prisoner to me. There is a confusion in the reports between me and General Cortlandt, and it is just possible that the Kardar may have thought the *purwannah* was General Cortlandt's, but even in that case it was an act of gross insolence, and which if passed over would make Mooltan an independent kingdom. Had Dewan Moolraj adopted the proper custom in these cases of sending a *Motbir* along with the treasure and delivering it to General Cortlandt wherever he might be, instead of passing it on in a slovenly manner from one Kardar to another, and then writing to General Cortlandt to come and fetch it, if he wanted it,

Sketch showing positions of ferries.
(Vide page 285.)



from Bhukkur, all this commotion would have been avoided and the soldiers have received their pay a fortnight ago.

Another agreeable specimen of the indecent contention going on between the Sirkar's and the Mooltan officials has been afforded this morning in Kolachee, where Dewan Moolraj has sent a deputy, named Boodh Sing, to persuade the Cabul merchants not to go to Esau Kheyl ferry (where the customs have been reduced by the Resident) but to go to a new ferry named Dublee, which Moolraj has opened in the Dera Ghazee Khan *ilakah*. The annexed sketch will give an idea of the relative position of the ferries. The worst part of this business is that the Dewan's ambassador has come armed with professed copies of *Sirkaree purwannahs*, one of which denounces all those who reduce the custom dues at Esau Kheyl for the purpose of inducing merchants to cross there, and declaring that all who do so shall be brought to a severe account. In this dilemma of course the merchants, who had previously turned their caravans towards Esau Kheyl on hearing of the reduction, once more turned back, and have gone in great numbers to Dublee, thus defrauding the Government of many thousand rupees of revenue. The Mooltan deputy has also several private notes promising him an increase of wages if he brings the merchants to Dublee. Only last night I received a long and detailed table of the reduced custom dues of the Esau Kheyl ferry from Misr Saheb Dyal with a request to make it public! No wonder the merchants are distracted between these conflicting orders, and indeed it seems to me impossible to carry on the customs in these parts without including the *ilakah* of Mooltan. But I will do my best to meet the Dewan's machinations.

9th March 1848—Camp Kolachee.—After long thinking over this business of the customs it has suddenly struck me (and I wonder none of us ever thought of it before) that after all this Mooltan *ilakah* is the Sirkar's and not an independent kingdom, and that the Sirkar has a perfect right to send any of its own officials into it to look after its own rights and interests, provided that the agreement, or *moshuksah*, under which Mooltan is held, is strictly respected. Accordingly I have adopted the decisive step (which I trust under the circumstances of difficulty in which the Customs are now involved will be sanctioned by the Resident) of ordering a *Sirkaree muhsooleah* to the ferry of Dublee, where the

Dewan is crossing all the merchants, not to interfere with the Dewan's rights in any way, but to receive from the merchants the difference between the old established customs of Mooltan and the new *Aieen* of the Sirkar, *i.e.*, supposing *A* is a merchant and is going to Mooltan and will have to pay Moolraj two rupees at the Indus, one rupee at Leiah, and five rupees at Mooltan on goods which the Sirkar assesses at ten rupees, then the *Sirkaree muhsooleah* will take from *A* at Dublee before he crosses the river two rupees. Thus the Dewan's *moshuksah* will be rigidly respected. But it is not to be denied that the result will be that no merchants will go by Dublee who do not want to go to Mooltan itself. Those who want to go to Umritsur and Hindoostan will go at once to Esau Kheyl. But this is just bringing the Dewan back to the position he was in at first, and which he has taken dishonest advantage of his *moshuksah* to improve at the expense of the Sirkar. Anticipating that the Dewan would on hearing this open a new ferry lower down, I have given a general order for a *Sirkaree muhsooleah* to go to any and every ferry in the Dera Ghazee Khan *ilakah* and collect the difference of customs. I have also formally apprised Dewan Moolraj of my having done so, and should the Resident deem that any excuse is necessary to justify sending the Sirkar's officials into the Mooltan *ilakah*, I would submit that it is amply furnished in the fact of Dewan Moolraj having sent his Custom officer, Boodh Sing, to Kolachee in the heart of the Ismail Khan district to lead away the merchants, which is an underhand seduction. I hope the *vexata quæstio* has thus been completely set at rest and that no farther contention can occur.

It appeared during the investigation that Sirdar Mungul Sing has a jageer at Dera Deen Punah on the left bank of the Indus, where he receives customs, the same as previous to the new rules. There is no other "Padshah" that I can discover, but the sooner this one is dethroned the better.

Ali Khan of Kolachee showed me a Pushtoo version of the Bible printed at Serampore, in 1818, which was given him 30 years ago by an English gentleman at Hurdwar, where the Khan had gone to sell a string of horses. The Englishman told him "Neither to throw it in the fire nor in the river, but keep it against the day when the British should be rulers in his country"—a time which the Khan slyly observed he thought was about arrived!

Akhoond Fuzul Ali, *Motbir* of the Dera Nawab, made me a mysterious request that I would grant his master a favour. I requested to know first what it was, but he declined doing so without first asking the Nawab. I suppose he either wants a title, or some more jageer, indeed the former involves the latter.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

P. S.—I forgot to explain that on the principle of reciprocity I have given Dewan Moolraj permission to send a Customs officer to Kirree Kuheeree in the Dera Ismail Khan *ilakah*, there to receive whatever customs he would levy between the Indus and Mooltan, the same to be deducted by the Sirkar's officer.

H. B. E.

No. 4.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation in the district of Dera Ismail Khan, from the 10th to the 19th of March 1848.

10th March 1848—Camp Kolachee.—Almost all day occupied with Indus River Customs questions and disputes between the merchants and the two Customs officers of Dewan Moolraj and Misr Saheb Dyal. There are two points of importance at issue between them as follows :—

First, whether the allowance made to the merchants by the Sirkar's Customs officers on this side of the Indus, on account of the dues they pay in Mooltan, should be the full amount of those dues on the river, and inland, or only of those which the Mooltan officers collect on the river. Of course the Misr's (Saheb Dyal) men wish the latter, the merchants the former, as also the Mooltan officer on account of the encouragement to the merchant to go *viâ* Mooltan.

If my arrangement of associating a *Sirkaree muhsooleah* with the *muhsooleah* of Mooltan at every ghat on this side the Indus be sanctioned, as I sincerely hope, by the Resident, then justice suggests plainly the propriety of acting in concert with the Dewan on friendly and equitable terms, and allowing the merchant who wishes to go *viâ* Mooltan the full amount of all the old established custom dues which merchandise is burdened with in that *ilakah*. For as I have

often reported before, the Mooltan customs are not on the modern principle of one line like the Sirkar's, but are collected in instalments at different stages of the merchant's progress. The merchant's real tax is the sum total of them all, and, if the full amount be allowed by the Sirkar's *muhsooleahs*, all the merchants who wish to go to Mooltan will do so, whereas now many who have frequented that road for years have deserted it on account of this very difference. So long as there was mutual opposition between the Dewan's and the Sirkar's customs line, this was all fair, and the Dewan met it by opening a new ferry in the Dera Ghazee Khan *ilakah*, which enabled the merchants to cross the river in his own territory and escape the Sirkar altogether, a move which would have been quite successful and destructive to the Sirkar, had I not immediately counteracted it by ordering a *Sirkaree muhsooleah* to every ghat on this side the Indus, whether in the Sirkar's or the Dewan's *ilakah*, as already fully explained.

The second point is whether the "tukhfeef" at the Esau Kheyl ferry should continue or not, under the new arrangement of joint *muhsooleahs*? I think certainly not, as the Sirkar's interests are now sufficiently protected by the arrangement in question. The Dewan's *Motbir* has earnestly begged me to abolish it at once, but I do not feel at liberty to alter an arrangement made by the Resident, even though the circumstances are altered.

This day I gave Shah Niwaz Khan of Tank his *rookhsut* to return to his own district. I do not propose to settle Tank till after the present *rubbee*. When Shah Niwaz Khan took the *moshuksah* the country was ruined by the former Khans, and he is now rapidly recovering it. To settle it on a bad basis would therefore be a great loss to him, and it is fair that he should profit by his labours. His just rule and attention to the welfare of his people renders a settlement not of that pressing importance which it is elsewhere.

The five-year return of the Kolachee revenue is at last ready, but to my dismay I find that it contains no measurement of the land, such a thing being unknown to any denomination smaller than a *koss*!

11th March 1848—Camp Kolachee.—Sirdar Mohummud Alim Khan, Doorannee, is again out of funds to pay the current expenses of the sowars of his father, and I have advanced him 1,000 rupees out of the Dera treasury, but his father, Sirdar Syud Mohummud Khan, should be

called upon to supply his men in Bunnoo regularly, or oppression on the march must be inevitable.

Cutcherry all day : wound up with a long lecture to Gooldad Khan of Kolachee for the petty jealousy he displays towards his cousin, Kaloo Khan. Utterly unable to administer his own country, which an unjust revenue imposed by the Sikhs has reduced to the lowest depth of misery, I thought I had conferred a benefit on him in making Kaloo Khan his Kardar, but like a spoilt child he seems unwilling that anybody else should do what he cannot do himself. I have warned him sufficiently that the country must be administered efficiently by some one of his family, or else pass away into the hands of a Sikh Kardar. This has produced a reconciliation with Kaloo Khan, who shows much ability and good sense.

12th March 1848.—Sunday. No business.

13th March—Camp Kolachee.—Commenced in earnest the Kolachee settlement, though on the most meagre and unsatisfactory data. How closely do we tread here on the very rudest principles of agrarian right. So late as 32 years ago the six tribes of Gundehpooreahs who possess Kolachee were re-dividing the country amongst them regularly every six years, each tribe taking good and bad land, turn and turn about.

The Kardar of Bhukkur and the treasure which he refused to bring across have been both brought over to Dera by the sowars, which Sirdar Chunda Sing by my orders sent for that purpose. When the Kardar has counted and made over the treasure, he will come on to me, when I shall hear what he has to say in his defence.

Shahzad Khan Nassur (the Kardar of Dera writes word) still refuses to pay his *tirnee.* I have in vain summoned him several times from Bunnoo, and as I hear he is somewhere under "the Throne of Solomon" I have now sent out spies to reconnoitre his position, for he must either be brought to reason or driven out of our territory.

15th March—Camp Kolachee.—The scouts have returned and report Shahzad to be encamped close under the Tukht-i-Sooleman, ready to take to the hill on any alarm. It is about 9 *koss* from here. The rest of the Nassurs have broken up into separate camps and moved off to different parts, giving themselves out to be Khirotees and not

Nassurs, and dreading to be made responsible for the contumacy of Shahzad. I resolved to attempt to surprise and seize him, but said nothing about it till night, when sending quietly for Kaloo Khan's *Motbir* I told him to warn the Khan to be ready with guides at midnight to accompany me.

All day at settlement and *Cutcherry*.

16th March 1848—Camp Kolachee.—As proposed, I woke at 12 o'clock and got 200 Dooranees, the Sikh Regular Ressalah of 60 men, 16 orderly sowars and 3 or 4 guides, under arms, to accompany me and *chuppao* Shahzad Nassur, and also 250 sepoys, 10 sowars, and 12 *zumboorahs*, under an Adjutant, to follow quietly as a reserve. I then made over the camp to the charge of Colonel Futteh Sing, and, being joined by Kaloo Khan from the city, we set out, Mohummud Alim Khan and myself in the centre, the Sikh Ressalah on the right and the Doorannees on the left. The night was wet and dark, and the river Loonee under Kolachee was so swollen with hill snow that it was not without considerable danger we effected a passage, at one time the whole party being entangled in a quicksand, which so frightened the Doorannees that 100 of them turned back from the middle of the river, though this I only found out afterwards. At daylight we came in sight of the Nassur watchfires, and halted in a *nullah* to breathe the horses. Great was my surprise then to discover that out of 300 horsemen, not 80 had kept up, availing themselves of the darkness to lose their road and preserve their valuable lives. I told the Sikh Ressaldar to muster his men, and he certainly exaggerated when he reported 20 present out of 60. Perhaps there may have been 40 Doorannees out of 200. Disgusted at poltroonery, which must render our attack abortive, I yet thought it would be less disgraceful to fail than not to try, and as the 40 Doorannees present curvetted about as if they were at Astleys, shaking their guns in the air and looking very fierce, I was not altogether without hope that a bold stroke might still be successful in capturing the rebel. With difficulty therefore keeping them all together, I led them out of the *nullah* and pushed on for Shahzad's encampment, and though the shouts of the Doorannees aroused the Nassurs rapidly to a sense of their position, and they rushed out with their *juzails*, swords, stones, and all kinds of weapons to oppose us, favoured by some low ravines we managed

to turn their camp and get between them and the hills without any damage from their hurried fire. I then beckoned with my sword to the Nassurs to surrender, a most unconscionable proposition under the circumstances, and replied to only by a new fire and waving of *shumsheers*. Nothing being left therefore but a charge, I gave the word and dashed into the camp, and the advantage is so great on the side of the assailing party that with the aid of, I am ashamed to say, not more than 15 of our 80 heroes, we drove in the Nassurs, and had we been supported must have carried all before us. But Sirdar Mohummud Alim Khan was not followed up by more than 3 or 4 of his Doorannees ; the Sikh Regulars skirted the camp, and with 2 or 3 guides and half a dozen others, including the young Khan of Kolachee, I was left to make the best of it. The Nassurs rallied immediately they saw the main body stand aloof, and I was at one time doubtful about the issue ; but we cut through them and forced our way over tents, men, women, sheep, horses, etc., till we emerged again in the front of the encampment. Still we were warmly followed up, and when a Nassur had discharged his *juzail* he did not wait to reload it, but picked up a large boulder stone and hurled it with a force and precision acquired by long practice in their wars with the Vizeerees. One struck me so violently on the knee that I was nearly unhorsed. In short there was every appearance of our being regularly beaten off without either seizing the rebel or collecting his "*tirnee*" in kind, when my eye falling on the spot where the camels were tethered, I called to the two or three who were along with me to help in cutting them loose. The frightened animals sprung up and released themselves, and putting them before us we drove them rapidly away. I shall never forget the howl of rage which the Nassurs set up when they perceived this manœuvre, and then leaving every point where they were before engaged they rushed in a body after the camels which are in fact their fortunes. The sowars, however, who had not been bold enough to follow into the camp, rejoined me immediately I emerged with the camels, and telling some to drive off the herd, I got others to form in the rear and reply with their guns to the *juzails* of the pursuers, and as we were on horseback and they on foot we were all soon safe out of their fire. About half a *koss* from the Nassur camp we halted to breathe and count heads. Only three were wounded, but

Kaloo Khan of Kolachee was missing. A sowar said he saw him knocked off his horse with a stick. The probability therefore was that he was a prisoner. To have gone back and tried a second attack with the Doorannees and Sikhs would have been madness; probably they would not have accompanied me, or if they did, the Nassurs would have killed Kaloo Khan at once. A brave attendant of the young Khan, who had kept along with me throughout the fray, suggested a reprisal, and I sent off orders to the Infantry reserve to get peaceable possession, if possible, of two or three Mullicks of another camp of Nassurs which we had passed in the advance. This they did, and seized the Chief who divides the Nassur tribe with Shahzad Khan, besides upwards of 200 camels, without any resistance. The balance therefore stood thus at the close of the day:—

Loss.	*Gain.*
Kaloo Khan, prisoner.	2 Mullicks and 9 other Nassurs, prisoners.
3 wounded, besides myself.	317 camels brought home, value about Rs. 9,000.

The general opinion was that Kaloo Khan would be immediately given up in exchange for Sir Must, one of the prisoner Mullicks, but it turned out that Shahzad and he were not on good terms, and Shahzad marched away into the Sheraunee hills taking Kaloo Khan along with him. There was no fear, however, for the young Khan, as it is not the custom to misuse prisoners among the Nassurs. Still it is very provoking, and is a great drawback to our success in punishing the rebel by the loss of his camels.

19th March 1848—Camp Kolachee.—I have been on my back ever since the 16th suffering a good deal from the large wound which the stone has cut in the side of my knee, but it is now going on well. This has not prevented me from carrying on the Kolachee settlement, the zumindars, Khans and Moonshees having attended as usual at my bedside, and I hope to conclude it in three or four days more.

Shahzad Khan who is still deep in the hills, under great alarm, has sent in proposals for the restoration of Kaloo Khan, and the coming in of Shahzad's brother to make submission, and pay his *tirnee*. The result shall be reported in my next.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 5.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation in the District of Ismail Khan, from the 20th to the 23rd of March 1848.

20th March 1848—Camp Kolachee.—Yesterday Ali Khan of Kolachee sent Hussun Khan, a Cabul merchant of the Mean Kheyl tribe, to tell Shahzad Khan that if he sent in Kaloo Khan safe and well, and his own brother to make submission and pay the *tirnee*, the Sahib had promised to give back his camels. To-day Hussun Khan returned unsuccessful. Shahzad has marched deep into the hills and carried Kaloo Khan along with him, and says he must have the camels back first. The truth is supposed to be that Shahzad's favourite brother is now across the Indus grazing *doombahs*, and Shahzad does not like to let Kaloo Khan go till his brother, Bazeed Khan, has got safe back.

Directed search to be made in Kolachee, Dera and Drabund for property belonging to Shahzad Khan's division of the Nassurs. There is known to be a great deal in each of these places, but the Hindoo *dulals* are not very likely to reveal it.

The Kardar of Bhukkur, Peryah Mull, arrived from Dera under a guard. I will hear his case to-morrow.

Engaged all day with Kolachee settlement.

21st March—Camp Kolachee.—Afraid of a second attack Shahzad has I hear engaged about 100 Sheraunees (in whose hills he now is) to assist him, *i.e.*, he has promised to feed them; a great piece of good fortune for the Sheraunees, who are very poor.

Heard the case of the Bhukkur Kardar. He seems a respectable man, but admits that he refused compliance with my *purwannah* and gave it back to the bearer moreover, on the ground that his master was Dewan Moolraj In other words the authority of those British Officers,

who supervise the conduct of native officials throughout the Punjab, is not recognised in the *ilakah* of Mooltan! This view of the matter as taken by the Bhukkur Kardar is certainly natural, for the practical position of Dewan Moolraj in these parts is not that of a great revenue farmer but of an independent sovereign. A ring fence, in public opinion at least, runs round the Mooltan province, within which the Dewan is irresponsible. The terms of the *moshuksah* by no means warrant such a position; but it has grown up to its present height in the hands of the present Dewan's father in the weaker days of the Lahore Government, and now that the Government of Lahore is vigorous enough to penetrate the farthest extremities of the empire, the independence of the Dewan in Mooltan is as anomalous and unnecessary as it is injurious. I have therefore thought it my duty to take this opportunity of marking at once the impropriety of the Kardar of Bhukkur's conduct and the responsibility of even Mooltan officials to the system of supervision of which the British Officers detached in the provinces are the organs. Accordingly I have sent Peryah Mull to Lahore under a guard of 12 men.

Engaged all day with the settlement.

Reported that four Puthans of Kot Zuffur Khan had left their homes with swords, and the Mullick of the village was afraid they might intend to become *ghazees*. Ordered them to be apprehended.

22nd March 1848—Camp Kolachee.—The four *ghazees* proved very harmless. Their corn having been robbed several nights successively they had gone out secretly to lie in wait for the thieves.

Hyder Chiragh Shah, a Fukeer of considerable sanctity and eminence in these parts, who holds Bulot in jageer, has come to see me. Of course he has got his pocket full of *urzees*.

Concluded the Kolachee settlement.

23rd March—Camp Kolachee.— Hyder Chiragh, the Bulot Fukeer, sent his *Motbir* with eight *urzees*, and countless *sunnuds* of all sizes, from the imperial broad-sheet of the Delhi Emperors with beautifully engraved seal, to the shabby scrap of Runjeet Sing. In course of time encroachments have been made on the original jageers of Bulot, and the Fukeer's chief object was to obtain restitution. Hyder Chiragh Shah is a Shiah, but he is afraid openly to profess his belief, even

in these times. His followers said their prayers along with many Soonnees at the door of my tent, and went through all the Soonnee prostrations. This is a curious instance of the vitality of persecution, outliving long the powers which called it into existence.

Had considerable difficulty in explaining the new settlement to the zumindars, who cannot understand how their old complications can be dispensed with. To-morrow the leases will be given out to the various villages.

Bazeed Khan, Nassur, who was grazing *doombahs* in the Mooltan *ilakah*, has managed to cross all his sheep, and conduct them through the Ushteranee hills back to his brother Shahzad Khan, who has moved still farther into the hills of the Sheraunees, and will probably not emerge again to the plains, but wait till all his tribe moves back to Khorassan.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 6.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation in the District of Dera Ismail Khan, from the 24th to the 27th of March 1848.

24th March 1848.—Camp Kolachee.—Yesterday I told the zumindars, or Toomuns as they are called, of Kolachee (who form the six tribes of the Gundehpooreahs and divide the country among them) to decide in whose name the village leases should be made out; in their own, or in that of their *mozarrehs*, who are the real managers of the land, and from whom most of the village Mullicks are chosen, the Toomuns standing aloof in enjoyment of their profits. To-day the Toomuns came to decline becoming responsible for the village rents, and signed a paper resigning all claim to interfere in the matter, leaving their *mozarrehs* or any others at liberty to take the *moshuksahs*. In doing this I believe their object was to embarrass the settlement and get a still farther reduction, but as the actual *moshuksah* of the whole country is on the responsibility of the Khan, it is not at all necessary that the villages should be contracted for by either the zumindars or the *mozarrehs*. The object of the village lease is merely to protect the

people from exaction by defining what share of the Kolachee revenue each village has to pay, and out of that share how much is the Sirkar's, how much the Khan's, and how much the Mullick's or Mokuddum's. The account will stand as follows:—

	Rs.	a.	p.	
Sirkar	32,753	0	9	Nanuck Shahee.
Gooldad Khan	8,550	0	0	Ditto.
Ali Khan	4,275	0	0	Ditto.
Toomuns	12,826	9	9	Ditto.
Punchotera	3,073	8	6	Ditto.
	61,478	2	6	

To-day a complaint reached me of 12 cows being carried off from the pasture ground of the village of Loonee, about four *koss* from the hills, by some Sheraunee thieves. These Sheraunees inhabit the mountain called Solomon's Throne, which forms the western boundary of Kolachee and the frequent recurrence of these petty depredations, and every now and then the carrying off of a Khutree for the sake of his ransom, gives considerable annoyance, and I have resolved to establish a *gurhee* at the mouth of the Zurgunnee Pass leading into their hills, and thus protect both Kolachee and Drabund, abolishing the one at Drabund which protects neither, as far as I can learn.

Shah Niwaz Khan of Tank sent me word that he had recovered from the Vizeerees a small gun which, in the flight of his father, Alladad Khan, was deposited with them for security. He now wished for instructions what to do with it, whether I would have it sent to me, or whether it should be put into the fort of Tank? I told him to put it into the fort, and was much pleased with this behaviour, so different from that of natives in general, and some recent instances in the Punjab in particular.

Heard the accounts rendered by the Toomuns of Kolachee to Gooldad Khan by my orders, for six months' administration of the revenues of the country in the time of Futteh Khan, Towanah, and Dewan Dowlut Raie. This account could never previously be got from them, and even now it is in such a complicated state that it is difficult to do justice.

I intended to move the camp to-morrow to Drabund, having finished the Kolachee revenue settlement, but Ali Khan begged me to wait a couple of days, as a Fukeer, named Sheikh Kaim Shah, is negotiating the release of his son Kaloo Khan from the camp of Shahzad Khan, and an onward move of this camp to Drabund, which is close to the pass in the hills where Shahzad has retreated, would heighten his alarm and make him continue his route to Khorassan. I agreed therefore to halt till Monday.

25th March 1848—Camp Kolachee.—Sheikh Kaim Shah, the Fukeer in question, returned from Shahzad's camp. He reports the Nassurs in much alarm and brings offers from Shahzad Khan to send in his brother, Bazeed Khan, to pay the Sirkar's *tirnee*, and restore Kaloo Khan, on condition that his camels were given back to him, and Shah Niwaz Khan of Esau Kheyl would go and stop in his (Shahzad's) camp while Bazeed Khan was in mine. On hearing this Ali Khan went to Shah Niwaz Khan and asked him to consent, but Shah Niwaz declined. Kaloo Khan's imprisonment quite ties my hands. I can do nothing. If I were to attack the Nassurs it would be the signal for Kaloo Khan's assassination, and yet I cannot leave him where he is. After much reflection I have determined to recover him at all costs, and so be at liberty to take any subsequent steps to punish Shahzad. With this view I have refused to enter into any negotiations which may compromise me to any line of conduct; but have given Ali Khan the 75 camels which were carried off from Shahzad's camp, and told him to purchase his son's release by private mediation, making no promises in my name of any sort. If this succeeds, the affair will stand just where it did at first, *viz.*, that Shahzad is in rebellion, and must be punished, with this difference that, whereas before he was occupying the Sirkar's territories and thereby defying the Sikh authorities, he and his tribe have now been driven out into the mountains. Ali Khan was very grateful for this concession, which perhaps I should have made sooner, and has set off with the camels and the Fukeer to get back his son. Sir Must Khan, the Nassur Chief whom I have in confinement as a hostage for Kaloo Khan, together with about 240 camels seized at his camp by our Infantry reserve, no sooner heard what was going on than he told Ali Khan that the said 240 camels supposed to be his were in reality Shahzad's, and that unless

they also were given up Kaloo Khan would never be released. This I did not believe, and positively refused.

The holders of mortgaged land in Kolachee waited on me this morning to know how their interests were affected by the new settlement. The former system of the country was uncertain. In some places the division of the produce on mortgaged lands was as follows:—The Sirkar one-eighth, and the seven-eighths into four, of which one fourth into three, of which two-thirds to the Toomun or zumindar, and one-third to the holder of the mortgage, and the other three-fourths to the ryot, out of which he had to pay the cesses over and above the land revenue. This was the most favourable. But more frequently matters stood thus:—The Sirkar one-eighth and remaining seven-eighths into four, of which one-fourth to the Toomun, one-fourth to the *Girowallah*, and the remainder to the ryot, liable to cesses. These complications I have swept away, and settled that the *Girowallah* is to receive no part of the produce of the land, but to be paid 12 rupees per cent. per annum by the Toomun who has borrowed money from him, the land, however, remaining in pawn with the *Girowallah* as security, and the produce after payment of the burden laid on it by the new settlement going entirely to the cultivator. I have named five years for the foreclosure of these mortgages, and both parties seem satisfied with the new regulation, which is rare good fortune in one's attempts to benefit zumindars.

Waded through a tedious case of a claim made by a banker of Dera against the Toomuns of Kolachee, for a debt of about 7,000 rupees, and it being clear that the said Toomuns had realised the equivalent from the land (it was a loan to pay arrears of uncollected revenue) and not redeemed their bond from the *shroff*, I imprisoned the three Toomuns who had signed the bond and have given them a day or two to come to an arrangement with the *shroff*, at the end of which time their property will be attached as usual.

Gooldad Khan hesitates about taking the *moshuksah* of his country, the Sirkar's share being 38,000 rupees Mehrabee (after allowing 10,000 rupees for customs taken away from the Khan) and he having held it, until reduced at my representation last year, at 61,000 rupees a year, including customs! I told him to take a day to consider of so important a step, and give me his answer to-morrow.

26th March 1848—Camp Kolachee.—Although this was Sunday I was obliged to admit Gooldad Khan, and the zumindars and *mozarrehs* of Kolachee, to an interview, to propound a thousand questions concerning the settlement, which had been put and answered a dozen times before. According to the returns of the last five years, the cultivators of Kolachee are by the new settlement relieved of burdens to the extent of 27,000 rupees at least average per annum ; yet they cannot conceive that they are benefited, because the settlement is in money, and not kind. Time only can show them that their condition is improved. Gooldad Khan has got some one to explain the *moshuksah* to him, and he has accepted it, which I almost regret, so great a fool is he. I am, however, quite convinced that it is more advantageous for a Puthan people to be in the hands of their own hereditary Khan. than in those of a Sikh Kardar, under any circumstances short of absolute tyranny.

Gooldad Khan represented to me that Dewan Dowlut Raie was in the habit of every year breaking down the Kolachee dams, in order to draw off the irrigation from that country to Dera, which is lower down. Gooldad hoped that this would now be put a stop to. I have not given any orders till I hear what account the Dera Kardar gives of the matter, but as a general rule I consider that Nature herself indicates the true law of irrigation, *viz.*, that priority of local position on the stream is a priority of right to its waters. The stream in question is the Gomul, which rising near Kandahar emerges from the Vizeeree hills at the north-western end of Tank to irrigate which country it is there dammed up, and the overflow alone is what reaches Kolachee under the name of the Loonee, and my opinion is that the Kolachee people are fully entitled to dam it up for their own use, the overflow, if any, going on in turn to Dera. Dowlut Raie's principle was simply this, that Kolachee was Gooldad Khan's *moshuksah*, and Dera his own.

27th March—Camp Drabund.—This morning the camp marched 10 *koss* to Drabund. I remained behind at Kolachee during the day to wind up some disputes. At daylight Ali Khan returned from the hills, bringing back his son Kaloo Khan on a charpoy. The young Khan had got three or four severe wounds, but none of them at all dangerous, and he is in as good spirits as ever. The conduct of both the father and son throughout the transaction has been quite Roman, and I have

more than once been called to admire the stern rebuke which the old Puthan would give to any one who made a passing expression of anxiety for his son's release. A most fortunate discovery has been made that the remaining 240 camels in our possession are in reality the property of Shahzad's followers and not of Sir Must's. When Ali Khan reached the Nassur camp in the hills with the 75 camels which had been carried off by me from that particular camp, Shahzad's Nassurs drew their swords and declared that Shahzad should never give up Kaloo Khan till all their camels, which were seized in Sir Must's grazing grounds, were restored! Shahzad, who was very glad to get back even 75, pacified them with promises to negotiate for the remainder. On hearing this I sent immediately for Sir Must and asked him how many of the 240 camels were his. He at once owned that only 7 or 8 were his and the rest belonging to Shahzad's tribe. I have therefore confiscated the whole (after restoring Sir Must's) and the loss which is equal to more than 7,000 rupees will be a severe loss on the Nassurs, and not only to them but to the whole of the Cabul merchants, who were quite getting the upper hand of the weak Sikh authorities on this side of the Indus. In the evening I proceeded to the camp at Drabund.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 7.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation in the District of Dera Ismail Khan, from the 28th to the 30th of March 1848.

28th March 1848—Camp Drabund.—This place is much harassed by the Sheraunees, a wild and thievish tribe of Afghans, who inhabit the Tukht-i-Sooleman and the hills about its base. The history of the feud is instructive. The Mean Kheyl Puthans of Drabund are a branch of the great Lohanee family, and having seized these lands took to cultivation. They are now the richest and the most peaceable of all the tribes of Cabul merchants which frequent the Damun-i-Koh, and having a stake in the country are strictly obedient to the Sikh authorities. Between them and their Sheraunee neighbours used to be peace, until one Devee Doss, Kardar of Drabund in Dewan Lukkee Mull's time, seized a Sheraunee on an accusation of theft by some Khutrees and

hung him. The man was supposed to be innocent, and the Sheraunees as a tribe took up the task of avenging his unjust murder. Watching an opportunity, when the Mean Kheylees had gone to the opposite border of Drabund along with the Kardar, the Sheraunees descended on the town of Drabund and ransacked it, killing several men. The Kardar on this assembled the Mean Kheylees and told them that they must now either be the enemies of the Sheraunees or of the Sirkar, for, unless they swore to break off the old friendship with the Sheraunees, they should not stay in the Sirkar's dominions. The Mean Kheylees chose the side natural to landholders, and war has been ever since between them and the Sheraunees. It is carried on on a thievish scale, now a few cows, now a camel, now a Khutree or two, are carried off to the hills, and men killed on either side in attacking or resisting. The consequence is a state of constant anxiety and alarm. Men plough with muskets in their hands, and whole villages which lie near the hills are deserted. There is a tumble-down mud fort in Drabund with 50 men in it, but this can only guard the town, and the village cultivators require protection. I believe it is no secret that the landowners towards the hills give a fixed "blackmail" of one-fortieth to the Sheraunees. It would be much better that this came to the Sirkar and was returned to the people in substantial protection. Before I leave I shall reconnoitre the foot of the hills.

Sir Must Khan, the released Nassur Mullick, came as directed to pick out his own camels from the herd we drove off, and with great honesty he only selected nine and a young one out of upwards of 200. He deposed that 25 of the rest belonged to one Dadun of Sooleman Kheyl, and 68 to a Hajee of Meanee tribe, both of whom had joined the camp of Shahzad Khan for "protection"; in other words to avoid paying *tirnee*. The remainder of the camels are Shahzad Khan's. Sir Must Khan has hitherto enjoyed an exemption of ten camel loads of *Rodung* from customs at the Kirree Kuheeree Ghat, as head of a large portion of the Nassur tribe, whom in return he was expected to keep in order. Though obliged to seize him as a hostage for Kaloo Khan, I have no personal complaint against him and think he is well-inclined to give good advice to the rest of the Nassurs. I have therefore renewed his *sunnud* of exemption, not in loads, on account of the great rise in customs, but in one sum of 60 rupees a year, which was

what it used to be worth. I then dismissed him with a *loongee*, well pleased, and I trust prepared next year to draw off all the tribe from following the evil counsels of Shahzad Khan.

The Khutrees of Drabund came in a body to beg that I would make some arrangements for protecting their class from the Sheraunees, who carry on a regular trade in ransoming Buniyahs. Gradually this may and should be accomplished, and I look on my present trip not only as a Revenue Settlement but as a reconnaissance of the whole hill border of the *ilakah*. This completed, and when I understand the position and relations of the tribes, their passes, strength, etc., arrangements will be comparatively easy. At present I am in the dark as to all that I have not seen, for nobody can give any evidence except about his own village and the camel that he lost seven years ago, and which he expects me to have in my pocket.

At present the most disturbed portion of the border, and the only one indeed where there is fighting as well as thieving is towards Girang, where the country of the Ooshteraunees joins on to that of the Kusranees, enmity being fierce between those tribes. The Durbar have written to General Cortlandt to express surprise at there being any disturbance in his *ilakah* where there is so large a force. This is either real or pretended ignorance of the geography of their own possessions and of what is going on within them. The Durbar cannot be ignorant that the occupation of Bunnoo has, this cold weather, been undertaken for the first time, and that that task was full employment, or rather required the presence, of all the strength of the *ilakah*. In this way alone have nearly 400 mud forts been destroyed there in one winter, and a valley whose very name was terrible to the Sikh army been laid bare and helpless. Yet they rebuke General Cortlandt for a feud at the very opposite extremity of a hill border of 80 *koss*! Ubiquity is not the property of armies, and a district composed of seven Afghan provinces, which have been shamefully misruled by Sikh officers for a long series of years, is not to be pacified in a month. I myself shall reach the Kusranee country in a few days, and trust the Chief of the Ooshteraunees will ere that time be in camp.

29th March 1848—Camp Drabund.—This morning I sent for Akhoond Fuzul Ali, the *Motbir* of the Dera Nawab, and told him to open a correspondence with Abdoolla Khan, Chief of the larger

division of the Ooshteraunees, and induce him to come in and state the causes of his dissatisfaction. The Nawab's jageer adjoins the Ooshteraunee country and friendship exists between the two. Fuzul Ali promised to do so, and expressed confidence of success.

Almost all day at settlement.

In my last Diary I reported the new rules I had laid down for mortgages in Kolachee, a provision of which was that the land was to remain in possession of the creditor until the debt upon it was discharged. This I did because the landowner's share of the produce, or *mulkeeut* income, is defined and secured to him in the *moshuksah* and the success of the new settlement depends on the balance of produce going straight into the pockets of the cultivators. It would not have answered therefore to make the mortgaged land over to the indebted owner in order that he might sublet it to a cultivator and derive a second *mulkeeut* from the land besides that secured in the *moshuksah*. And the same objection does not apply to the creditors or holders of the mortgaged land, as they are chiefly cultivators themselves. But the Toomuns of Kolachee have come here to-day with a very fair representation, that if they wish *themselves* to cultivate their mortgaged ground, it is but justice that they should have a preference over any other cultivator, and even over the creditor who holds the mortgage, as the latter's profit is secured in the 12 rupees per cent interest which the Toomun has to pay him on the original debts. I have therefore modified the rule, and provided that a Toomun be allowed to cultivate any land which he has mortgaged, so as to reap the profits of cultivation.

30th March 1848—Camp Drabund.—An *urzee* has reached me from Abdoolla Khan, Ooshteraunee, written before he could have heard from Fuzul Ali, offering complete submission, and making grievous recriminations against the Kusranees. In reply I have told him to join me at Chowdwan.

Having concluded the registry of all the villages, and having heard all that the Mean Kheyl zumindars had to say for themselves, I this day had up a tentful of cultivators and heard the other side of the question. Particulars I reserve for my Revenue report.

The Khutrees of Chowdwan (in the jageer of the Nawab of Dera) have brought me a serious complaint. One Mohummud Sudeek, an Afghan of good family near Kandahar, was formerly in the Nawab's service, and subsequently passed into that of Dewan Lukkee Mull and his son Dewan Dowlut Raie, but a balance of several thousand rupees of pay remained unpaid by the Nawab. A year ago this Mohummud Sudeek, after repeatedly attempting without success to recover what was due to him, took his leave and returned to Khorassan, but *en route* he surprised and carried off into the hills a marriage procession of Hindoos of Chowdwan in the Nawab's jageer, in lieu of his wages, and ransomed them for 4,000 rupees! I must inquire into the case, and, if true, I think the Nawab should compensate the Hindoos.

The two Povindahs of Meanee and Sooleman Kheyl, who claim camels in the herd of Shahzad Khan, came before me to-day, and after a full examination of the evidence I was satisfied that they had attached themselves to the camp of Shahzad Khan to escape payment of *tirnee*, but left him when I came to Kolachee, anticipating a storm! As therefore they were not concerned in any resistance by force of arms to the Sirkar's authority, I have not confiscated their camels, but merely imposed a fine of one rupee per camel as a punishment for defrauding the Government of *tirnee* (which is six annas a head) and a warning not to consort any more with rebels. The men were much surprised and delighted at getting off so cheap, and drove off their camels in high glee after paying the fine. There then remained 147, the *boná fide* property of Shahzad Khan's rebel camp, and these being confiscated to the Sirkar, I gave one to each of the four soldiers wounded in the skirmish, and 13 to Kaloo Khan, being a camel for each day he was in the hands of the Nassurs, and as indemnity for his severe wounds. The rest will be sold.

Shahzad Khan himself, distrusting the mountain tribes among whom he took refuge, and plundered by the Vizeerees, has fled precipitately to Khorassan where he will have leisure to meditate on the profit and loss of fighting the Sikh Sirkar.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 8.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation in the District of Dera Ismail Khan, from the 1st to the 6th of April 1848.

1st April 1848—Camp Drabund.—Abdoolla Khan, the rebel Chief of the Ooshteraunees, has again written to his friends in my camp to ask their advice about coming in. In one note to the Nawab's *Motbir* he uses the amusing phrase "you see times are changed!" I trust indeed that they are, and that this feverish border will gradually be pacified.

I have been much annoyed at the discovery that in the Lahore *Duftur* the revenue of Drabund is stated to be 41,000 rupees, which sum is set down in the Kardar's "Aieen" as what is expected from this *ilakah*. Now it is notorious through the province that the highest point ever reached by the Drabund revenue was 20,000 rupees, and the six years' return furnished by the Kardar shows an average of only 17,448 rupees. The Kardar, who seems a respectable man, and has given considerable satisfaction since his appointment, has given in an *urzee* representing this extraordinary discrepancy, which he of course discovered long ago when first appointed, when he refused to touch the revenue at all or assume charge, and petitioned General Cortlandt on the subject. General Cortlandt told him to do his best by the *ilakah* and see what it actually did produce, after which the matter could be represented. The truth I understand to be that the Lahore *Duftur* had no authentic records of the province of Dera Ismail Khan, which had always been in *moshuksah* ever since its appropriation by Nao Nihal Sing, and got Futteh Khan, Towanah, who had once held the farm, to depose to its value. Futteh Khan out of enmity to Dowlut Raie gave in a grossly exaggerated statement of the revenue of each country, and this is the estimate which the Durbar have assumed as the "Aieen" for General Cortlandt's guidance! Dera Ismail Khan *Khas* is said to pay rupees 1,80,000, and the Kardar says he will be responsible for its yielding the odd 80,000! Fortunately during the last year that Dowlut Raie held the province it was not in *moshuksah* but *amanut*, and as the Dewan's accounts were taken when he was removed, a detailed return of the real produce of each district is available. I should feel much indebted if the Resident would be good enough to call for this last year of Dowlut Raie's Revenue administration, that it may be compared with the "Aieen" that the Durbar have imposed upon the

province. It is true that the *amount* of that "Aieen" was made up by the holders of the *moshuksah*, but how? By plundering the distant province of Murwut to make up the deficiency of Dera. The consequence was that when in March 1847 I arrived in Murwut, I found its chief town a heap of cinders. The oppressed people had risen on the Dewan's revenue collectors, besieged the fort of Lukkee for 17 days and burnt the town to the ground. I mention these circumstances because I perceive in the *ukhbars* that, whenever the new settlement papers of any district are submitted to the Durbar, Dewan Dena Nath produces his "Aieen" from the *Duftur*, and laments the extraordinary "tukhfeef" conceded by the Sahibs to the zumindars. It would be a severe shock to him therefore to find that from 41,000 rupees Drabund has dropped down to 17,663 rupees, Nanuckshahee.

2nd April 1848 --Camp Drabund.—Sunday.

3rd April—Camp Drabund.—I have been prevented from closing the settlement of Drabund by the claims of the Khan, Uzeem Khan, who, in common with the other native Chiefs of these Afghan provinces, was hunted down by that foolish governor, Dewan Dowlut Raie, and half of all his rights confiscated. The whole of this day I was engaged in taking evidence of what those rights were, and hope to-morrow to be able to include a just allowance for him in the settlement.

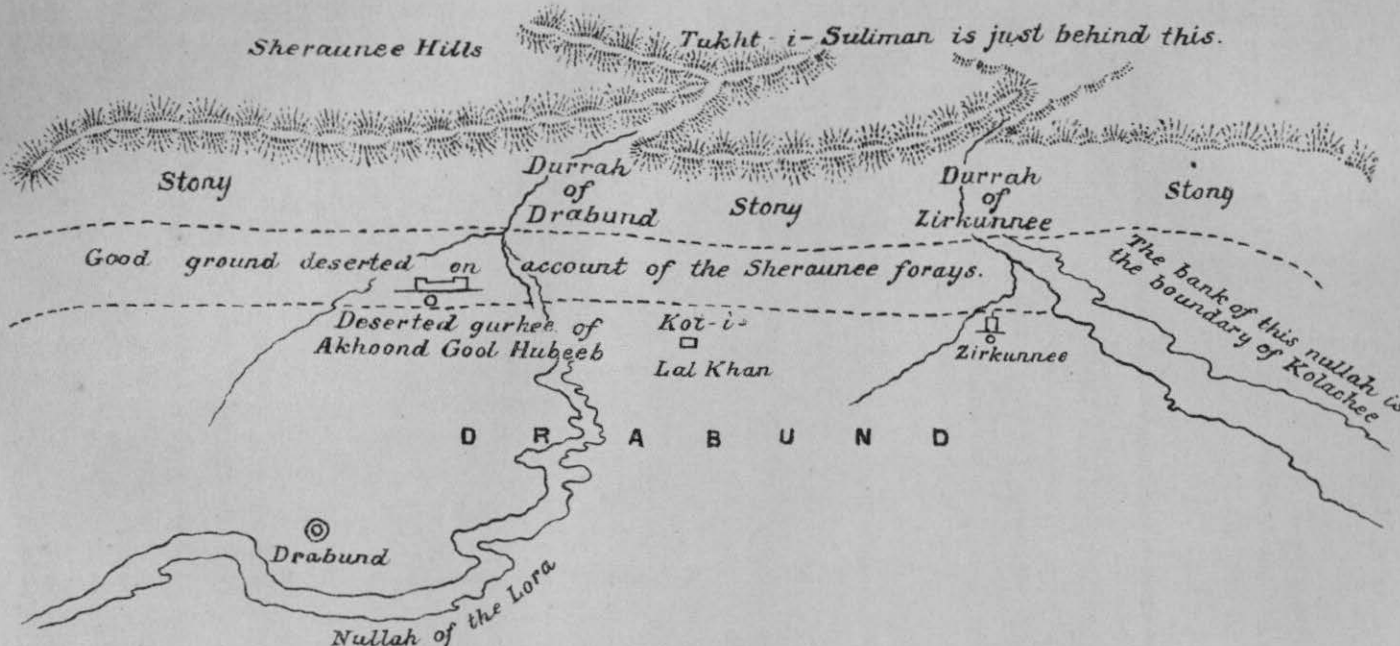
4th April—Camp Drabund.—This morning before daybreak I made a reconnaissance of the two chief passes into the Sheraunee hills, from which that thievish tribe issue on their forays against the Gundehpore and Drabund country. The annexed sketch will give an idea of their position, and that of the *chokees* with which I propose to cover them.

I propose to remove the thannah which is now at Drabund, and which neither protects the town nor the country, to the position of Gool Hubeeb's *gurhee*, thus covering not only the town of Drabund but all the lands lying towards the hills, and to watch the *durrah* of Zirkunnee with another *chokee* near Zirkunnee village. For the latter I have provided almost the whole expense out of the Kolachee settlement, and shall do the same by the former in settling Drabund, if possible.

Uzeem Khan's accounts not yet made up.

The Toomuns of Kolachee who have been confined in execution of a decree of debt passed by General Cortlandt, and whom I have purposely

Sketch showing position of passes into the Sheraunee hills.
(Vide page 306.)



Mem:	Drabund is about	5	Koss	from	Zirkunnee.
	Zirkunnee	,, 2	Koss	,,	the Durrah of same name.
	Durrah of Zirkunnee	,, 3	Koss	,,	Durrah of Drabund.
	Durrah of Drabund	,, 2	Koss	,,	Gurhee Gool Hubeeb.
	Gool Hubeeb	,, 3	Koss	,,	Drabund.

not sent to prison in order to allow time for their making some milder arrangement with their inexorable creditors, the Dera *shroffs*, are I think at last coming to terms, and will I trust enable me to release them on sufficient security.

5th April—Camp Drabund.—Abdoolla Khan, Ooshteraunee, has sent in his younger brother to make his submission. I have sent back word to him to come himself to me at Chowdwan, the first march from this, and assured him of an impartial hearing. The young Khan said his brother "wished to know whether it was peace or war? He had never asked the question from any *Hakim* before because he knew they were liars, but Englishmen were said to tell truth, and therefore he sent to know whether he might settle down quietly, or arm himself?" It is much easier to deal with a man of this temper than with a more timid villain, and I daresay he will make a very decent ryot as ryots go on this frontier.

Wound up the settlement of Drabund which has been accepted readily by the zumindars, their cultivators and the tradespeople. I am not aware that any class is otherwise than pleased.

The result in a few words is as follows :—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Revenue on the land	17,711	15	0
Four rupees on every shop, whether Hindoo or Puthan, about	952	0	0
	18,663	15	0
Allowance for which I have compounded Uzeem Khan's *Khanee* rights	1,000	0	0
Nett of Sirkar ...	17,663	15	0

The Toomuns used to enjoy two-sevenths of the produce in some places and four-sevenths in others, furnishing seed. I have reduced them to one-fifth everywhere, out of which they are to furnish 45 horse and 15 foot for the protection of their country.

No sooner was this over than I had to turn to a long existing land dispute between the Khan and Toomuns of Kolachee, who have followed me here with it. I have been collecting evidence concerning it for a month, and decided it to-day. The only case now undecided, or rather

still in agitation, is that of the Dera *shroff*, and I have told the Toomuns that if they can get Gooldad Khan to be their security and will pay down 1,000 rupees to the *shroff* now, I will advise the *shroff* to waive the execution of the decree. Gooldad Khan did not like the idea at all, as his Toomuns are very bad paymasters and not on good terms with him at present. The *shroff*, however, insists on security, and I have pointed out to Gooldad Khan how his own advantage may be derived from the matter. At present the whole weight of the *moshuksah* of Kolachee rests on his own shoulders as the Sirkar's *ijarahdar;* and if he can get the Toomuns to take the village leases (which to embarrass him they refused to do in Kolachee) they will be inseparably bound up with him in working out the settlement, and the prosperity of the country be secured. He was much obliged for the hint, and has promised to make those terms with the Toomuns.

6th April 1848—Camp Drabund.—Before breakfast inspected the "fort" as it is called, which is a kind of backyard in the middle of the town, and exhibits a malice prepense on the part of the garrison not to expose themselves.

Afterwards I took a muster of the Drabund contingent. They mustered 62, but I have limited the number to what I thought fair, *viz.*, 45 horse and 15 foot. A finer body of rough and ready Puthans could not be desired.

After breakfast the village leases were distributed to the Toomuns of Drabund, who went away well satisfied.

Remodelled the existing law of mortgage on land, making it exactly the same as that I have already reported for Kolachee. Both lender and borrower are contented.

Had up the cultivators of Drabund to explain finally to them what they are to pay, and they are for a wonder really pleased with the prospect of getting three-fifths of their produce. Strange to say some few of them expressed a wish for the Toomuns to supply them as before with seed, and thus continue in the lowest grade of agriculture, more as labourers than farmers of the land. The majority, however, were quite sensible of the additional impulse given to cultivation by the cultivator finding his own seed, and speculating more widely for himself.

The trades called to express their gratitude for the amelioration in their condition, and I have no doubt that a great increase in the number of shops will show itself in the course of a year.

To conclude this extraordinary day on which all classes of rate-payers were for once satisfied, the refractory Toomuns of Kolachee embraced Gooldad Khan's offer to be their security to the *shroff*, if they would take each their village leases. Silver ornaments to the value of 1,000 rupees were produced and given to the *shroff*, bonds of security exchanged, the Toomuns released from confinement, and all the village leases taken by them amidst great laughter, in which they laughed louder than anyone else, at the complete defeat of all their plans to shirk the *shroff's* debt and bully their Khan. As evidence of their complete reconciliation with the latter they begged he might have a *khillut*, and I added a *loongee* to each of them, and they went off to Kolachee to commence at once the repairs of the great water dams on which their country's prosperity is dependent, and which out of spite they have allowed to go to ruin. This happy termination of the difficulties of that distracted country is really more than I had hopes of, and I proceed with fresh courage to the *ilakahs* which still remain unsettled.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No 9.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation in the District of Dera Ismail Khan, from the 7th to the 16th of April 1848.

7th April 1848—Camp Chowdwan.—Marched from Drabund before daylight, distance 6 *koss*. About 2 *koss* from Drabund is the thriving village of Moosehzye, whose lands are said to be a quarter of all Drabund. It is closer to the Zam pass into the Sheraunee hills than Drabund is to the pass of the same name; yet Moosehzye bears no marks of plunder. I know not whether this proves greater bravery or greater cowardice in the Moosehzyes, for there are two ways of defending cultivation from mountain forays, one by sword and gun and another by black-mail.

Chowdwan is part of the jageer of the Nawab of Dera, and is a more considerable town than I had any idea of. It is a long, narrow

town, whose shape I can fancy has been determined by the wish of all the inhabitants to be close on one bank or another of a clear stream which flows through it longitudinally, and whose waters have filled the town with so many gardens and fine sheeshum trees that it is beyond comparison the most picturesque in the Daman. Something no doubt is owing to the superior character of the people, who are of the Babhur tribe, and distinguished among their brother Puthans for sagacity and valour. They once had the rare honor of furnishing a Wuzeer to the empire of Khorassan, and a current proverb still says "That a Babhur fool has more sense than a wise man of Kolachee."

There is a very tolerable mud fort at Chowdwan belonging to the Sirkar, but put in such a position that it is quite useless for the protection of the city, the latter being between it and the hills. It was indeed only built by Dewan Lukkee Mull as a customs *chokee* to intercept the merchants who might endeavour to avoid Dera Ismail Khan and steal along the foot of the hills to the Mooltan *ilakah*. The altered system of customs has now deprived it of even this utility and I propose to abolish the thannah altogether.

Abdoolla Khan, Ooshteraunee, came in this day and made his submission. His wild appearance, long brown hair, and cold light eye (so uncommon among Asiatics) are in keeping with his renown among the mountain tribes which wall in the Daman. Like the Bishops of the Middle Ages he is half soldier and half saint, and a popular belief in his invulnerability may be the secret of his being hitherto invincible. Miracles by his own account run in the family and are the nursery annals of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather. Strangely enough it never seemed to strike him as an inconsistency that the last and perhaps boldest of such a line should be sitting in my tent, and his sword be under the arm of a Sikh sentry at the door. I do not enter into the causes of his late raids as the subject has yet to be examined, but I have assured Abdoolla of an impartial hearing.

A boundary feud has raged between the Mean Kheyls of Mooseh-zye and the Babhurs of Chowdwan for 100 years, and I have been appealed to to settle it! I can try at all events, and have summoned the hostile Chiefs for to-morrow.

Nawab Khan, Mean Kheyl, a deputy from the Cabul merchants, has been in camp two or three days in hopes of learning what new customs arrangements will be made in Mooltan. No orders have as yet come from Lahore, and, as every day seems a year now to the Cabul traders, who long to fly from the burning Derajat to the cool hills of Khorassan, I have at last been obliged to let him go with such general instructions only to the Customs officer of Dera Ismail Khan, as I conceive cannot interfere with any plan that may be adopted in Mooltan, *i.e.*, I have told Teg Chund to go upon the principle that the trader (now that both sides of the river are the Sirkar's) is in no case to pay more than the *Dustoor-ool-ummul* fixes ; and if he has paid two-thirds in Mooltan one-third only must be demanded here; and if he has paid anything in Mooltan (to the Sirkar) more than is in the *Dustoor-ool-ummul* the surplus must be returned. Nawab Khan says this is a "tukhfeef" too trifling to induce merchants to bring their goods across, and he declares that thousands of loads are lying in Delhi and Bhawulpore waiting to see if the dues on the Indus will be reduced, and will not come on if they are not. Under these circumstances I have advised his going with two or three other merchants to Lahore and lay their petition before the Resident, who alone has authority to reduce the customs.

8th April 1848—Camp Chowdwan.—Halted to-day to attempt the settlement of the Moosehzye and Babhur boundary. The Babhurs produce a *Sunnud* nearly 90 years old of Ahmed Shah's, directing Sirdar Jahan Khan to proceed and settle the boundaries of the Babhurs and Mean Kheyls, as also that of the Mean Kheyls and Gundehpoors. The Babhurs have preserved also the original decision of the Sirdar, which decides the mutual border of Gundehpoor and Drabund to be the Sawan or Zirkunnee *nullah*, and that of Drabund and Chowdwan to be another *nullah* called "Kourah" or Bitter. So far all is clear, and the dispute consists in the question which of two *nullahs* is the said "Kourah" named in the decree. There is one *nullah* close to Moosehzye so named, and this the Babhurs declare to be the right one. But the Mean Kheyls maintain the boundary to be another and larger *nullah* two *koss* nearer to Chowdwan, the name of which *nullah* is "Turkhobee," which in Pushtoo means bitter water, a name which they say is exchangeable with "Kourah" and that sometimes one name, sometimes the other, is

used. It is curious that these two *nullahs* are in fact the same water, dividing at the *débouché* of the Zam from the Sheraunee hills, and reuniting after a separate course of eight *koss* near the border of Dera Ismail Khan. The disputed territory therefore is at times an island. Forty years ago the Gundehpoorees stepped in as mediators and decided that the island should lie waste, profiting neither one side nor the other, a senseless evasion of the difficulty. The natural desire to cultivate soon renewed the quarrel, and blood is constantly shed upon the border, thence called "the Bloody Boundary." After much investigation, which occupied me all day and indeed late into the night, I thought both tribes, like true Afghans, were fighting for a punctilio, and that they would be only too delighted to have any settlement enforced on them by a power sufficiently strong to save their honor by not asking their consent, and when I asked them whether they would have the case decided by the Muhommedan Law, by arbitrators, or by me, I was not surprised at their both agreeing that I should settle it on the spot. Having taken a writing from them to this effect I divided the disputed ground equally between them, and appointed two men of my own to lay down the pillars. Both sides made faint objections to save their credit, but could not conceal their real satisfaction, and went away in high good humour. It is a real pleasure to be able to set up milestones thus along one's road, by reconciling feuds and extinguishing animosity in the breasts of thousands. May it endure.

9th April 1848—Camp Chowdwan.—Sunday.

There is some doubt about water being procurable at the next march on the route I propose to pursue, so we halt again to-day while sowars reconnoitre. I wish to go as close along the hills as possible now that I am out, in order that I may have a thorough knowledge of this troublesome border, its tribes, passes, etc. Abdoolla Khan, Oosh-teraunee, has done all in his power to dissuade me from going through his country, professing an inability to restrain his tribe, and "God forbid that they should commit some folly or other!" This only shows how necessary it is to go that very way, to prove to both him and his people how very little we care about them. To give a wide berth to the tribe which has been plundering our territory so lately would be the surest plan of encouraging them to do so again.

Yoozoof Khan, Kusranee, who has been all this while fighting against Abdoolla Khan, Ooshteraunee, hearing that his enemy had come in, has himself come posthaste to tell his side of the story. Last night heard of a wanton foray made by the Kusranees into the Ooshteraunee country, in which 12 cows were carried off. I therefore refused to see Yoozoof Khan till the said cows are restored, as I have again and again forbidden the Kusranees to cross their own border. At this rate mediation becomes impossible.

I hear that the Babhurs were so rejoiced at last night's settlement of their boundary dispute that the whole town "made a night of it," with drums, and dancing, and songs in which the bards loudly celebrated the return of peace to their homes.

The Mean Kheylees of Drabund, when they agreed to furnish 45 sowars and 15 footmen out of their one-fifth of the produce, say that they were under the idea that they were to live in their own villages as usual and only turn out on any emergency, and now that they find they are to be on constant duty in the *chokee* they cry off. I have told them that they can either serve or pay in money, whichever they please, at which they are very sulky, and declare they are utterly ruined! The Mean Kheylees are rich and indolent, and "serving" even in defence of their own country is little to their humour.

10th April 1848.—Marched six *koss* to Jog-i-Rindan in the Ooshteraunee country. The intervening country is a dry plain coursed over by the antelope, but seldom ploughed up by the bull. The soil is indeed good, but water is so scarce that hardly a village is to be seen. Here there is a pond of stagnant rain water which is considered a luxury. The hills are scarcely two *koss* from us.

I forgot to mention yesterday that Kuttal Khan, the most influential Chief among the Sheraunees (on the border of Gundehpoor and Drabund and Chowdwan), has made overtures through the Babhurs to come in, throwing out hints of being taken into service. If entertaining a few of his thieves as sowars would make him a good neighbour (which in these parts it generally does) I should be glad of discretion to do so.

11th April.—Marched to Dowlut Wallah seven or eight *koss* Still the same brown plain without a shrub. A pond of rain water

and a salt *nullah* from the hills offers its choice of beverages to the thirsty traveller. Between one and the other half the camp were disordered in a few hours.

Four *koss* from our last halting place, Jog-i-Rindan, stands, in an admirably selected spot, the little mud fort of Goorwallah, which was originally built (miraculously !) by the uncle and father of Abdoolla Khan, Ooshteraunee. It passed, however, in a very commonplace manner into the hands of the Dera Nawab, who knocked down the old walls and reconstructed the post. It has only seven permanent soldiers in it, but has a relieved guard of 12 from the fort of Girang 12 *koss* off. It deserves a better garrison and I shall draught some of the Chowdwan *mokhtuhs* into it. The Jummadar in command is an old Eusofzye, named Fukeer Mohummud, a little ugly, unpretending fellow, who I feel sure would hold it against any odds. He spoke affectionately of the little fort, and rather for its sake than his own modesty pleaded for a few more men. These Eusofzyes are as much meant by Nature for horrid outposts as camels for the desert. One of them is worth six Hindostanees on this border.

Dowlut Wallah is a largish village, very much the worse for its late siege by the Ooshteraunees, who penetrated into the mud huts and thus sheltered bored holes for their muskets and fired away at the Kusranees in the tumble-down fort. Seven men and women were killed in this affair, and, if my camp had not been on the way here, there is little doubt that Dowlut Wallah would have ere this been again similarly visited. Justice compels me to state that, as far as I have yet gathered, the Kusranees are more to blame than the Ooshteraunees, and have drawn down all this hostility by their unconquerable propensity to cattle stealing, disgusting even to an Ooshteraunee !

12th April 1848—Camp Dera Futteh Khan.—From Dowlut Wallah here is 16 miles at the least, and the people wished to halt halfway, but I thought it better to push on as time is precious, and while I am making the settlement there will be plenty of rest for man and beast. Between Dowlut Wallah and Dera Futteh Khan is the same barren plain spread over with a great network of dams and banks in the forlorn hope of securing the little rain that falls in these parts.

The district is generally called Girang by the Sikhs, from the fort of that name which is two *koss* from Dera Futteh Khan. The Dera is a

considerable town pleasantly situated on a *nullah* of the Indus, and surrounded by many trees. Twice previously has Dera Futteh Khan been swept away by the Indus from sites many *koss* to the eastward, and the present town is said to be but a shadow of the original Dera.

Devoted the day to writing out the Kolachee settlement.

13th to 16th April 1848.—Engaged in the settlement of Dera Futteh Khan. Nothing remarkable except sharp showers of rain on 15th and an immense number of complaints of cattle thefts, for which the border of this *ilakah* and the neighbouring one of Mooltan (Dera Ghazee Khan) is notorious. This is in a great measure the consequence of there being two authorities, and those two pulling against each other, and I trust the Resident will sanction the proposal which I made some days ago for uniting Dera Ghazee Khan to Dera Ismail Khan.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,

Assistant Resident.

No. 10.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation Trans-Indus, from the 17th to the 22nd of April 1848.

17th April 1848—Camp Dera Futteh Khan.—The zumindars accepted my settlement of their villages; but, as this spring harvest is a certain loss, begged to be allowed to pay only a share in ratio with the produce (*Hust bood*). I declined, unless they would make good the deficiency in the *khurreef.* Hereupon they broke up rather sulky and went away.

18th April.—General Cortlandt has issued a circular to the Kardars of his *ilakah* to the effect that "whereas the custom has been to collect the revenue in three instalments, *viz.*, on 15th *Bysakh*, on 15th *Jeyth* and 15th *Har*, so this custom is still to be observed." Now the 15th *Bysakh* is seven days hence, and the wheat crops will scarcely be even ripe by that time. Barley hereabouts is generally reaped about 11th *Bysakh*, but as yet even that can scarcely be ready for sale. The

consequence is that if the people pay a *kist* on 15th *Bysakh* they must do it by a loan from the *shroffs*, and this rule has been a standing grievance in the district. Former Kardars, such as Dowlut Raie, cared only for securing their revenue as quick as possible, but we must now consider also how that may be done with least loss to the ryot. I have therefore abolished the *kist* of 15th *Bysakh*, and directed that the revenue shall be paid in two *kists*, one on 15th *Jeyth* and one on 15th *Har*.

Entered on the long pending case of Deen Mohummud Khan, Povindah, *versus* Bhowany Sing, ex-thannadar of Girang, and on sending for the prisoner found that the sowars, who brought him from Lahore and who had strict orders to keep him in camp, had taken on themselves to encamp apart at a well, where the said prisoner was holding a kind of daily levee of old friends in this district! On sending for Bhowany Sing he arrived even without irons, though he is under sentence of imprisonment for highway robbery for three years. The sowars in their defence urged that Sirdar Uttur Sing, Kaleanwallah, made him over in this way to their care in Lahore. I have sent the sowars back to Lahore and written a *roobukaree* to the Resident requesting that they may be reprimanded severely.

19th April 1848—Camp Dera Futteh Khan.—The zumindars agree to and have accepted my settlement. The whole day occupied in explanations connected with it.

The total drought and consequent barrenness of the *baranee* lands this spring has induced me so far to agree to the petition of the zumindars that the present *fusul* shall be collected in kind, at the rate hitherto taken by the Sirkar; and if the next *khurreef* also fails, then the zumindars are to petition me. If, on the contrary, the crop next autumn is a fair one they are to make up the full year of the *moshuksah*. The *seylabah* villages commence their *moshuksah* positively at once.

20th and 21st April—Camp Dera Futteh Khan.—These two days engrossed by Bhowany Sing's cases.

22nd April.—I was anticipating the possibility of marching towards Dera Ghazee Khan to-morrow, when an express *kossid* from Mooltan brought the distressing intelligence that Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant

Anderson had been severely wounded; that the troops had mutinied in Mooltan and turned out the Sirkar's companies; and that the two officers above mentioned together with their detachment were in imminent peril, and called for speedy assistance. In my letter of 22nd (No. 11) I have already fully reported to the Resident the determination which I at once made to march upon Mooltan. It remains only to say how we sped. There is fortunately only one *nullah* besides the main stream of the Indus, at Dera Futteh Khan; but on that there was only one boat, and by midnight on the river itself we had only got three others. To the neighbouring ghats I sent in vain, and it appeared afterwards that the Kardars of Moolraj had strictly prohibited the ferrymen from taking their boats across to assist troops in passing! All we had to do therefore was to await the arrival of a fleet from Kuheeree (15 *koss* off) and meantime make the most of the boats we possessed. From the time the moon rose the troops were engaged in crossing the baggage and ammunition over the *nullah*, and at last the single boat foundered and the whole of the Infantry had to wade the stream, which was up to their chins. Under these difficulties the cheerfulness of the men and exertions of Colonel Futteh Sing alone enabled us to reach the principal stream. There on the edge of the right bank the force collected and passed the day in watching the slow journeys of our three argosies. The Indus is now risen to a great height, and two or three hours were occupied in going and coming, so that the sun went down and still found the greater part of camp on the right bank. A storm then sprang up, and put a sudden end to all navigation, for no *mallah* on the Indus will put out in windy weather. I had fallen asleep in Dewan Hookum Chund's *pallkee* (my knee still prevents my riding and even walking) when I was aroused by the welcome shout of "Thirteen boats from Kuheeree!" The storm had ceased, and as time was precious I ordered the crossing to proceed. I myself headed the fleet, and we should have accomplished the passage in safety had not one boat suddenly split, filled with water and sunk. (It was an old boat, but not known to be in such bad case.) At first it was said that 9 persons out of 80 had escaped; but when morning allowed a muster to be taken it happily proved that out of 35 souls only 8 had been lost. An Afghan prisoner condemned to two years' imprisonment for theft leapt on to a horse as it was swimming away, rode it to shore, and then delivered up himself and the horse again.

24th April 1848—Camp Sahoowallah, on the right bank of the Indus, 7 koss from Leiah.—Was aroused long before dawn by Foujdar Khan with intelligence from Mooltan. A sowar had come thence and related all he had seen or heard. I need not repeat the first day's proceedings (the 19th April). On the evening of that day the officers of the Mooltan force are said to have persuaded the Dewan, much against his will, that the blood of the Sahibs would be surely required of him, and that it was better for him to rebel, hold out in the fort, and die like a man, than be hanged like a dog. Solemn oaths were then sworn of mutual fidelity, the Dewan and his officers withdrew their *zunanahs* into the fort, and word was sent to Kanh Sing to march off to Lahore, if he valued his life. He promised an answer in the morning, spent the night in throwing up entrenchments and declared himself determined to make a stand next day. The Dewan moved out his heavy guns from the fort, played upon the trenched camp and silenced Kanh Sing's light guns. A truce was then called, and Kanh Sing offered the heads of the two Sahibs for permission to march away! The Dewan declared he had no wish for their heads and that the quarrel was with him (Kanh Sing) for not marching away as he was told. At last Kanh Sing and all his troops gave up their arms and were made prisoners. This serious account is concluded by the sad assertion that both Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson are dead. This I will not believe, but in any case they are prisoners and, as public officers, non-existing. I consider it therefore my duty to treat Dewan Moolraj as an enemy in arms against the Government and to take such steps as may wrest from him this large and valuable Doab extending from the Sutlej nearly to the Salt range. The whole of my men will cross to-day and to-morrow I shall advance and occupy Leiah, a very considerable city, and the capital of the Doab. The Kardar of Dewan Moolraj, after doing all in his power to prevent my crossing, has, on finding himself baffled, fled with his women and the thannah of Leiah, leaving the citizens and zumindars in the utmost state of apprehension. They have addressed a petition to me asking for protection, which I have promised, and sent some of my own sowars to reassure them and prevent their flying. In every direction I hear that the Mooltan officials are absconding, while emissaries of the Dewan are enlisting recruits wherever they are to be found. In this crisis I have issued this morning the following precautionary *purwannahs*, and

doubt not that the effect will be immediate in tranquillising the country and crippling the Dewan :—

(1) To Nizam Khan, Killadar of Girang, desiring him to be alert and prepared for disturbance.

(2) To Mullick Khan, Kolachee, a noted mercenary, unemployed, entertaining him and ten sowars, himself at 50 rupees and sowars at 12 rupees each a month.

(3) To Mullookh Khan and Beera Khan, Bhudwal, Puthans, similarly situated in the market, telling them to come in and take service.

(4) To Kishen Kour, the Sirkar's Customs Officer at Kuheeree, telling him to carry on customs as usual, deducting in the merchant's account all Mooltan dues.

(5) To 30 sowars of Sher Mohummud Khan, Towanah, now lying at Kuheeree, ordering them to join me without delay.

(6) To Deen Mohummud Khan, Superintending Officer of the Punjcotra District, continuing him in his functions and ordering him to keep all those under him, whether civilians or soldiers, at their posts, as servants of the Sirkar, realising the revenue now ready for collection and tranquillising the country.

(7) To Tegh Chund, Permit Wallah of Dewan Moolraj, transferring him and his receipts to the Sirkar.

(8) To Ram Singh, Killadar of the Fort of Munkeirah, relying on his well-known fidelity to the Sirkar, and calling on him to forbid the Puthans from enlisting under the emissaries of Dewan Moolraj.

(9) To the zumindars, Hindoos, *Punches*, etc., of the city of Leiah, tranquillising their fears and sending sowars to protect them.

(10) To Sirdar Chunda Sing at Dera Ismail Khan, telling him to be on the alert, and consult, if necessary, with the Nawab of Dera, whose knowledge of the people will assist his judgment. Also desiring him to hurry on the treasure for the payment of the regiment I have with me, under guard of the Ressalah and four *pahrahs* which brought it from Bunnoo, and a company extra from Dera.

(11) To Kaloo Khan, Kolachee Wallah, ordering him to his post in Kolachee, there to look after the Sheraunee border.

(12) To the Thannadar of Drabund, and the sowars there detached, bidding them be on the alert.

(13) To the Dera Nawab, apprising him of the disturbances in Mooltan, and requesting him, in case of excitement, to advise Chunda Sing.

(14) To the Kardar of the district of Dera Ghazee Khan, in the Mooltan *ilakah*, bidding him remain at his post with all his subordinates and collect the revenue for the Sirkar, tranquillising the people, etc., and report regularly to me.

(15) Ditto Ditto to the Kardar of Sangurh and Mungrotah.

(16) To Futteh Yar Khan, Thannadar of the fort of Hyderabad, continuing him and his soldiers in service under the Sirkar and calling on them to tranquillise the people.

(17) To Ram Jus and Girdaree Lall, Customs Officers of Dewan Moolraj at the ferries of Futteh Khan and Sahoowallah, transferring them and their receipts to the Sirkar.

(18) To the Kardar of Seytpoor, calling on him to tranquillise the people, and remain with all his subordinates at his post, collecting the revenue for the Sirkar.

I trust the above precautions will meet your wishes, but I am obliged to act at once, for the country is much excited and the harvest is ripe. This Doab is full of Puthan mercenaries in and out of employ, and entertaining those in the forts will, I have no doubt, secure the posts themselves. Indeed I am inclined to believe that the whole disturbance in Mooltan has originated in the dread of the Dewan's Puthan troops of being thrown out of employ. Mooltan was the last asylum left to this class of soldiers, and if discharged thence there is now no Court to which they can resort. In such a position it is quite characteristic of them to mount the stilts of honour and die as becomes Puthans.

My future movements will be decided by the tidings I get to-morrow and next day. If indeed we have lost our two friends in Mooltan, the necessity of a hasty march towards that capital no longer exists, and the occupation of Leiah will morally and militarily give me possession of the whole Doab. In that case I should wait to co-operate with the force which will of course be already on its way to Mooltan

allowing the regiment and four guns from Bunnoo to join me at Leiah. If on the other hand our friends still live, I think it would be better for them that I should advance to the Chenab. In either case I mean to-morrow to open a correspondence with Dewan Moolraj.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 11.—Political Diary of Lieutenant H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, on deputation Trans-Indus, for the 8th of May 1848.

8th May 1848—Camp Dera Futteh Khan Ferry.—I have found it quite impossible to keep up the form of Diary in the important and exciting events of the last fortnight, but having reported fully in public letters and demi-official notes all that was of consequence, I trust the Resident will excuse me.

The cavalry I sent across the Indus to occupy Leiah, after the evacuation of the rebels, reached that city last night without any incident, Ruttun Chund, Moolraj's Hakim of Leiah, who had remained behind the force, making a precipitate retreat with his guards as soon as he heard of the approach of our sowars. Several cavalry and artillery horses, and other signs of the hasty retreat of the rebels, fell into their hands. The leaders of Moolraj's force gave out two reasons for their flight: one that the Maharajah had offered Moolraj the restitution of his government if he would return to his allegiance, and another that an insurrection had broken out in Lahore and the Maharajah had summoned Moolraj to assist him against the *Sahiblog*.

A sowar of Bhawul Khan's is said to have come to Leiah on a visit to some friends and brought news that the Khan is making a bridge-of-boats over the Sutlej and crossing 15,000 men. Also that he has orders from the British to collect a lakh of rupees worth of grain.

Moostupha Khan, Khagwanee, chief officer and counsellor of Dewan Moolraj, has come in one day all the way from Mooltan to Sooltan ke kote, 10 *koss* from Leiah, to put himself in communication with me, and sent an urgent message to Foujdar Khan in my camp to come and hear what he has to say. Foujdar Khan says he is too honourable a man to have deserted Moolraj and too able and useful to

have been sent away by the Dewan at this juncture on any but the most important business, and I therefore lost no time in putting Foujdar Khan into a boat with a boatful of trusty followers and sending him down the Indus to Sooltan ke kote, with a *purwannah* inviting Moostupha Khan to my camp. I scarcely expect him to so far lay aside native suspicion, but daresay he will send a brother or son with whatever message he has brought, and I await the return of Foujdar Khan with some interest. Altogether it seems as if the rebels felt themselves hard-pressed, and though their intelligence from Lahore is only two days old and mine is a week (the dawk coming to me *viâ* Bunnoo), I feel convinced that the British force has at length moved upon Mooltan.

Received letter No. 176 from Sir Frederick Currie, Bart., dated 29th April, telling me that full instructions had been sent me previously, but not repeating them. As the originals therefore have not reached me, I am still quite in the dark as to what is expected of me in these operations.

Received a second letter bag with a private note from the Resident, dated 29th April, telling me to keep my troops away from Mooltan and do the best I can on this side of the Indus. The Futteh *Pultun* is certainly not to be trusted in a combination, but I have other troops with me, which would be most useful in case of active operations against Mooltan, and trust I may be allowed to share therein. The Dera Ghazee country would be riotous if Mooltan is not invested, but will be quiet if it is, and it would be quite sufficient to send the Futteh *Pultun* with two guns to that district, thereby giving them an honorable excuse for separation and making them responsible for their behaviour.

The Resident having desired me to fill up the regiments in my *ilakah* to their service strength, I have written *roobukarees* to Lieutenant Taylor and General Cortlandt on the subject. Lieutenant Taylor is threatened a good deal by the Dourees at present, and it is most fortunate that we had levelled all the Bunnoochee forts in the winter and built so substantial a royal fort since. The worst that could happen to the Bunnoo garrison (supposing them faithful) would be a few days blockade, but as the regiments with Lieutenant Taylor are very weak, I have ordered back one which that officer had sent to my assistance.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

Diaries of Major Herbert B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident, Lahore, at Mooltan—1849.

No.	Period.		Page.	Remarks.
	From	To		
1	5th February 1849...	12th February 1849...	325	
2	18th February 1849	9th March 1849 ...	332	

Note.—These are the only Diaries of the year 1849 which are traceable.

No. 1.—Diary of Major H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident, Lahore, at Mooltan, from the 5th to the 12th of February 1849.

5th February 1849.—About a fortnight ago I issued orders for the clearing out of the canals around Mooltan, which have been much injured during the war. Every village is bound to furnish its quota of labourers. This morning I rode up the bed of the great canal to Nawabpoor, four *koss* from Mooltan, to see what progress had been made, and found that by a mistake orders had only gone to districts south of Mooltan, whereas the great labour every year in clearing from the northern mouth of the canal on the Chenab down to Mooltan, the deposit being of course greatest near to the mouth. Rectified this oversight and put all the canals under Gholam Moostupha Khan, Khagwanee, who has had great experience in this line. A characteristic story is told of him and Moolraj on this subject. The Dewan was lamenting in *Cutcherry* one day the barrenness of the *ilakah* of Kahee, which produced only 6,000 rupees, whereas its extent ought to yield 40,000 rupees. "I would give any one," said he, "Rs. 40 a day who could raise the revenue of Kahee to Rs. 40,000." Moostupha Khan offered to do so in three years, received charge, cut canals, and redeemed his promise. Moolraj however could never be persuaded to remember the agreement.

The cultivation north of Mooltan shows no signs of being "disturbed by the rude soldier's tread." Our camps were always to the south and east, and these fields are as green as if peace had reigned here for ever. Within the last week, however, the camelmen have found out the trees and commenced destroying them for fodder. Nearer Mooltan, even fruit trees have been bodily cut down, and hardly any of the gardens, which were the glory of Mooltan, have altogether escaped. I have written to the Brigadier Commanding on the subject, and requested that the camels of the force may be sent to the usual pasture ground across the river.

Was engaged almost all the rest of the day in investigating a very suspicious case against Sheikh Ali Hussun, formerly Vuzeer of Meer Ali

Morad, in Sindh, and sent to me in July last for employment by the Resident. I gave him some sowars, and good pay, and he has supplied me with very good intelligence, and occasional maps. Knowing his Sindh character, and how he assisted Ali Morad to deceive Sir Charles Napier, I trusted him little, but used him a good deal. Yesterday, in looking over Moolraj's papers, I was struck by the appearance of two letters written in Persian on English overland writing paper, and also by the handwriting, which seemed familiar to me, though at the moment I could not recall the writer. The contents were reports from some person in my camp to Dewan Moolraj, describing the movements and intentions of the force, and making suggestions as to how we might be attacked with advantage. Peer Ibrahim Khan, who was with me, said that he had long known that such a correspondence was carried on by some one and that Moolraj set great store by the intelligence, but he had never been able to trace it to any one. On thinking the matter over, I remembered the *ukhbars* supplied me by Ali Hussun, which were always on English paper of similar texture, and going to my letter book I produced a specimen of these, which tallied not merely in the handwriting, but also the stamp on the paper. Again, one of the traitorous notes to Moolraj asked him to supply some more English paper, and amongst Moolraj's books, etc., were found several blank sheets of the very same stamped paper as the traitorous note and Ali Hussun's *ukhbar* to me! I was unwilling to broach even so serious a charge against a man of the Sheikh's position, without the utmost caution, and consulted successively the opinions of Lieutenant James (an excellent Persian scholar), General Cortlandt and Peer Ibrahim Khan. All agreed that the case was clear, and I then sent for the Sheikh and asked him to explain these suspicious appearances. His answers were very indirect and unsatisfactory, but he denied both that he was the writer and that the handwritings were identical. As for the paper, he said, it was quite possible for Moolraj and himself to buy from one shop. A question arose, however, whether the Sheikh's Moonshee was the writer or the Sheikh himself and a long comparison of handwritings by several Moonshees ensued, with the usual inconclusiveness of such investigations into native writing. On calling for the Moonshee, however, the Sheikh said he had been absent on sick leave for four or five days. "Where?" "Did not know exactly,

but somewhere in the Khangarh district for change of air." General Cortlandt then went to the Sheikh's tent and was told that Moonshee Kummoorooddeen had been absent 15 days. Lastly Peer Ibrahim Khan remembered his leaving camp the day of Moolraj's surrender and telling the Peer that he was going to Ahmedpoor (the residence of Nawab Bhawul Khan), and the Peer's Moonshee at Bhawulpoor had also reported his arrival there ten days ago! Under all these circumstances I felt obliged to put the Sheikh in arrest in his own tent, though he begged to be bailed and sent off to Ahmedpoor to secure Moonshee Kummoorooddeen, who most probably went to fetch the Sheikh's family, who are residing there for safety. The case was much perplexed afterwards by the evidence of Misr Kool Juss, Confidential Secretary of Dewan Moolraj, whom I sent for to recognise the handwriting of the notes. He deposed positively to their having come from one Thakur Doss, a resident of Mooltan, out of service, who used to live in the lines of the Daoodpootras at Soorujkoond, and write the news to Moolraj. I have sent in search of this individual and trust the truth will come out, but, even should Thakur Doss own the two notes, the circumstance will still remain of Ali Hussun's paper being the same as that used by Thakur Doss, and possessed by Moolraj. The equivocating about Moonshee Kummoorooddeen would also have been useless to an honest man who feared no enquiry.

The chief Buniyahs of Mooltan came to ask me to get the fine of 20 lakhs removed from the city, but on being told that that was impossible, and that they would never be let alone till it was paid, they went away apparently minded to apply themselves to its apportionment among themselves. Their manner does not lead me to think the fine exorbitant, and I have no doubt they will throw in whatever deposits of Moolraj's they may have in their hands.

6th February 1849.—Searched all over the city for a house fit for the family of Moolraj, ordered by the Governor-General to be removed from the fort. Very difficult to find one so separate from other houses that it can be guarded by one or two sentries. Determined at last not to put them in the city at all, and ordered a house in the suburbs to be made ready for them. Went into the fort and told Sham Sing, Moolraj's brother, to prepare the family for removal next day. He is a smooth, fat-faced youth of about 16, who says he has hardly ever

been out of the fort, and looks as if he had never even been out of a nursery. This is the hero whom Moolraj proposed to make Commander-in-Chief after the battle of Suddoosam, when the Brahmins decided that Moolraj's own star was under a cloud and a change of leaders necessary to propitiate the favor of Heaven! There are two other brothers, younger than this, and I propose to leave them with the females.

Appointed Gholam Moostupha Khan, Khagwanee, *Surpurust*, or Superintendent, of the four quarters or parishes round about Mooltan: chose him because he has the character of raising barren districts to a state of prosperity by kindness and encouragement to the cultivators, qualities much required here at this moment to repair the evils of war.

Gave Sirdar Mahomed Alim Khan, Barrukzye, son of Syud Mahomed Khan of Peshawur, leave to go to Lahore, and conferred a *khillut* upon him. His whole family are with the enemy and his father has been foolish enough to accept of grants of land from Dost Mahomed. This young man has been with me for a year and behaved excellently.

Peer Ibrahim Khan, Bahadoor, marched with 1,500 prisoners *en route* to Ferozepoor. Previous to going, gave him a handsome *khillut*, by desire of Sir Frederick Currie, Bart. His service in this war has been uniform and zealous, and I cannot conceive a duty more difficult than to assist a British Political Officer in managing the Irregular army of an ally, without offending the officer by his laxity, or the ally by his vigour. The Peer has managed to satisfy both Lieutenant Lake and the Nawab of Bhawulpoor, and a close observation of him for many months makes me believe that the British Government has not among its native servants an abler or honester than Peer Ibrahim.

Saw Major Scott, Chief Engineer, who gave it as his opinion that the fort of Mooltan required a garrison of two Native regiments and a wing of Europeans, besides artillery; but two Native regiments might do the duty, one could not possibly. He has commenced repair of breaches, etc., and estimates the cost of making the place temporarily defensible at 6,000 or 7,000 rupees, certainly under 10,000 rupees.

7th February 1849.—Was occupied till past midnight with reductions of my Irregular levies, which must now be carried out as far as are practicable. But for this new invasion of the Doorannees in Bunnoo,

I could now reduce all the military establishments of this province and the Derajat to their regular standard.

Dewan Jowahir Mull Dutt, who was ordered by Sir Frederick Currie, to raise 2,000 men, and take possession of the Leiah district last June, and who has been with me ever since, behaving faithfully in very difficult times and in spite of his family being in the enemy's hands, called on me to-day to express a hope that, when I have leisure, I will not forget his services, but get him rewarded with a title and "some pay." Astonished at this last request, I enquired whether he had no pay at all, when he assured me that he had only a 2,000 rupees jageer allowed him by the Durbar, and that Sher Sing had got hold of that! I have called on him for a written statement to send up to the Resident.

The *Khaneh Shoomaree*, or census of the city, is almost finished. The chief inhabitants are said to be lurking about the neighbouring towns and villages watching the progress of the struggle between the *Punch* and the Prize Agents. I have sent people to bring them in. The carpenters of the city, to escape themselves, are not unwilling to reveal the hiding places which they have made in the houses of the wealthy citizens.

I omitted to record in yesterday's Diary the disinterment from under the ruins of the Jumma Musjid of the bodies of Sirdar Kanh Sing, Man, and his son. They were on one bed, as if they had been asleep at the moment and never woke. The Sirdar was cruelly fettered with massive irons of peculiar make, preventing the wearer even from walking; and this circumstance, together with the general tendency of the evidence now being taken by Lieutenant James from the chief prisoners of war, seems to prove that Kanh Sing was in reality faithful, and if he ever set his seal to treasonable papers after his capture, it was under compulsion. I therefore ordered every ceremonial and mark of respect befitting the Sirdar's rank to be performed and a monument to be set over his grave.

Lieutenant James tells me that he has to-day got conclusive evidence from Moolraj's own confidential servants that the Dewan conspired the rebellion with his officers in the interval between the assault and murder of the two British officers, and that the Goorkha soldiers

received from him rewards all day as they came over. The murder did not take place till evening.

8th February 1849.—Having received an answer from the Brigadier declining to send away the camels of the garrison to graze—1st, because some are wanted by the Commissariat daily; 2ndly, because the rest are desert camels which will not go into a boat to cross the river; and 3rdly, because strict orders have been given to the guards with the camels not to destroy trees—I this morning waited on the Brigadier personally to beg him to comply with my request and send away all but those camels which the Commissariat requires. The objections 2 and 3 I met by pointing out a grazing ground 12 *koss* inland from Mooltan, where no river need be crossed, and assuring the Brigadier that his orders were daily disregarded. I also pointed out that the shrubs on which camels subsist are actually not produced at Mooltan, so that every camel which lives in that city must be fed on the boughs of trees. The Brigadier, who is very well-inclined himself to be obliging, said he would again consult the Commanding officers (who object) about it; but I cannot see what Commanding officers have to do with the question. The civil officer is the best judge whether the district is or is not injured, and unless the public service, as in the case of the Commissariat, absolutely required the camels to be detained at Mooltan, it seems to me that the civil officer is the person to appoint a place for them to graze in. On this point I solicit the orders of the Resident; and will merely add that guards who take camels out for forage are interested in their coming home soon, and are glad to see them laden from the first tree that they come to; and that the camelmen (to whom the appeal is of course ultimately made by Commanding officers) will not willingly leave Mooltan for grazing land in the district, so long as they can fatten their beasts on fruit trees here.

Futteh Mahomed, Chakee, Moolraj's most confidential Secretary, has been to-day examined by Lieutenant James, and his evidence amounts to this, that the first assault on our two officers was never intended; but that everything subsequent to it was planned, ordered and led by Moolraj himself, who, for this reason alone, did not come in to me in May last when I guaranteed him a fair trial. None of the prisoners indeed vary much from this statement.

9th February 1849.—Brigadier Stalker appointed Doctor Ritchie to charge of the city hospital, which contains now 194 wounded prisoners of war. They are very grateful for the kindness they have met with, but many of them will not consent to be operated on.

Nawab Bhawul Khan has sent a Vukeel to remain with me here and deal with the numerous questions constantly arising in which he is concerned. The Vukeel's name is Tikayah Lal. His house is in Mooltan, and he was here when the rebellion broke out, when Moolraj ordered him away so rapidly that he had not even time to remove his property, which the Dewan appropriated.

10th February.—Moved camp round to the Huzooree Bagh, where I propose building a house, *Cutcherry*, etc.

The Chief Engineer not requiring the gunpowder in the fort, the Brigadier has given me a 1,000 maunds with which I intend supplying the exhausted magazines of all the forts Trans-Indus.

Lieutenant Taylor reports the arrival of Khawajah Mahomed Khan, in Bunnoo, and has written a letter to the Resident on the subject, in which I quite concur. Had Dost Mahomed come down to join Chutter Sing, Lieutenant Taylor could very easily have ventured to attack his son Mahomed Azim Khan in Bunnoo, but while the Dost is at Attock or Eusofzye, any attempt to besiege his son in Duleepgurh in Bunnoo would of course bring down large reinforcements and disturb the Derajat, instead of protecting it. Whenever Lord Gough advances across the Jheylum, and the Dost has enough to do to think of himself, Lieutenant Taylor will of course lose no time in advancing into Bunnoo. It will not escape the Resident's observation that the Bunnoochees, having now had an opportunity in one twelvemonth to compare the rule of the British, the Sikhs and the Afghans, in their little valley, look back with regret to the former.

11th February.—This day Moolraj's family were removed from the fort to the house that has been prepared for them in the suburbs. The Brigadier furnished them with *palkees* and *doolees* and made military arrangements for their passing out privately. I find there are three brothers of Moolraj's, Ram Sing and Sham Sing and Nurayun Sing. The Prize Agents consider that the family should give up their jewels, and perhaps they *should* resign everything but their

usual personal trinkets, though the question is one for reference; but for political reasons I quite agree in the propriety of depriving them of all means of bribery and intrigue, especially after what has occurred with Moolraj on the road to Ramnugger. I therefore got a respectable native female (a priest's wife) to examine their property as they left the fort, and it was very lucky that this precaution was taken, for at a rough guess Major Hobson, the Prize Agent, tells me half a lakh rupees worth of gold *boodkees* was found soldered down in copper boxes, etc., an immense number of anklets, bangles and silver *lotahs*—enough to corrupt an army. A list of everything will be forwarded to Government.

12th February 1849.—News of the surrender of Chunyote to General Whish. I observe in the *ukhbar* that the 200 horses found in the fort were ordered by the General to be sold for the benefit of his own force. Considering that Sheikh Emamooddeen has been blockading the place for a month and preventing the garrison from escaping, I think it a pity the General did not waive this right and present the horses to the Sheikh, whose exertions in this war deserved the compliment. The value of the horses will not put a halfpenny into the pocket of any soldier in the Mooltan Field Force. I have told the Sheikh to send Nurayun Sing and Juss Mull to Mooltan, as they have much to answer for.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

No. 2.—Diary of Major H. B. Edwardes, Assistant to the Resident, Lahore, at Mooltan, from the 18th of February to the 9th of March 1849.

Illness has prevented my keeping up the Diary and forwarding it regularly to the Resident, but I now proceed to give some account of matters that have occurred in the interval noted above.

19th February 1849.—Lieutenant Dunsterville of the Bombay Commissariat applied to me to know if there was any prohibition against the slaughter of kine for beef for the European soldiers. In reply I furnished him with copy of Sir Frederick Currie's positive order against it issued on a former reference in December last.

23rd February 1849.—Ensign Connell, Commanding Baggage Corps, applied to me to supply his camels daily with grain. In Sindh this is, I believe, done by the civil authorities, and is easily managed, as the greater part of the revenue of Sindh is collected in kind, and the indent for the camel grain is complied with out of the Government storehouses. But I have no stores of grain, and should be obliged to purchase whatever I supplied to Ensign Connell, so that it was better that he should purchase at first hand and avoid two accounts. I sent him a Hindoo, however, who was willing to contract with him for a daily supply of grain.

This day I forwarded to the Resident the evidence, taken from certain chief prisoners of war and others, concerning Moolraj's share in the murder of Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson.

24th February.—Received Resident's letter No. 57, conveying Government instructions to Major Scott to repair the fort, and I may as well mention it in this place that at this time (9th March) very great progress has been made by that officer in the task imposed on him. The breaches have been effectually cleared, scarped and stockaded; the trenches outside rubbed out; the guns put in position on the ramparts; the heaps of ruins which strewed the inside of the fort cleared away altogether, or else piled up in order so as to afford free passage; Moolraj's house patched up into an excellent European hospital; the lines of Moolraj's soldiers cleansed from the accumulated filth of the siege, and fresh plastered and repaired for our own sepoys; quarters nearly prepared for the officers; wells cleaned out, and, in short, general cleanliness restored, and great progress made towards general accommodation. Before the weather becomes seriously hot all the troops will be under cover.

26th February.—Received the Resident's orders for the trial of Goodhur Sing by special Military commission. The trial and sentence have been subsequently reported fully in my public letter No. 49, dated 8th March.

27th February.—Wrote demi-officially to the Resident requesting that those districts of the Mooltan province, which are in the occupation of the Nawab of Bhawulpoor, may now be made over to me, in order that I may put my own Kardar in to collect the present

spring revenue. I take the liberty of recalling this subject to the Resident's recollection, and trust there is no difficulty in the way of the transfer. I think it right, however, to mention here that I know from many sources, and indeed from the Nawab's own Vukeel, that His Highness entertains a confident hope that, as on former occasions his mere fidelity has been generously rewarded by the British Government with grants of territory, still greater rewards are now in store for his active military co-operation during the recent troubles. These rewards he expects in the shape of increased territory, and it is not unlikely that His Highness may have cherished a hope that the Punjab kingdom would be annexed to British India, and he himself be permitted to retain for ever those districts of Mooltan, which in May, 1848, he so zealously and bravely undertook to wrest from the rebels. I am not in a position to know accurately how far these expectations may be founded upon hopes held out by the late Resident, though I have heard that Sir Frederick Currie, from the very first, in accepting Bhawul Khan's offers of service, distinctly recorded that no future claim for territorial reward was to be founded thereon, though the British Government would indemnify the Nawab for his actual expenses. My reason for mentioning these things is twofold : 1st, because it is right that Government should be informed of the Nawab's expectations, whether they be well or ill-founded ; and, 2ndly, to express a hope that in the event of Government ultimately seeing fit to reward the undoubtedly great services of the Nawab by a grant of country, the Mooltan districts now held by him may not form a part of it. The districts themselves are by far the most valuable of the rich Province of Mooltan ; they in no way fall in with the Nawab's boundary now so well marked by the Sutlej, and would only introduce a perpetual boundary dispute on this side of the river ; and they would give the Sovereign of Bhawulpoor command along their whole length of both sides of the Sutlej, and the mouth of the Chenab, inconvenient alike with reference to war, commerce, or a line of customs. It would be preferable to extend the Nawab's boundary in any other direction, whether towards Sindh, Bikaneer or Ferozepoor.

28th February 1849.—It having come to General Cortlandt's notice that a native named Allunnuh (*sic*) had contracted with the Bazaar

Superintendent of Bombay Troops for the sale of toddy in the garrison bazaar, and that the said contractor had, without any permission from either the General or myself, gone into the district and persuaded some zumindars to allow him for a small sum of money to extract toddy from some 35 date trees, which are Crown property, thereby drying up and killing the trees and injuring the revenue, the General sent for the contractor and had his evidence taken, which was subsequently brought before me, in consequence of General Cortlandt being taken ill. The contractor admitting the facts, I confined him, and he was subsequently fined in the full value of the trees destroyed. Since his release the contractor has, I understand, thrown up his contract in the Military bazaar, and applied to General Cortlandt for the contract of the whole city of Mooltan and its vicinity, exclusive of the Bombay Military Bazaar, which, I suppose, he leaves open to some other contractor. A difficulty here arises on which I solicit the Resident's advice and instructions. By the Code of Laws prepared by Mr. John Lawrence for the whole of the Punjab, it is prescribed in the Excise department that the civil authority should sell to the highest bidder the contracts for making and selling spirits and intoxicating drugs, and that no other person whatever shall be at liberty to make or sell the said articles in the same place to his prejudice. This is the practice in Lahore, and the law is enforced in the Military Cantonment as strictly as in any other part of the specified limits. But in the Bombay Presidency it is the custom for the spirit contract for the supply of the military lines to be in the hands of the Commissariat Officer and Bazaar Superintendent, and the contract has already been made in the garrison here. I am so unwilling to come into collision with the Military authorities on any point (particularly as a strong Presidency jealousy has raged at Mooltan ever since the arrival of the Bombay Division, and has not yet subsided, though there are few Bengalees here now to keep it alive !) that I have not agitated the question, but it is right that it should be settled one way or the other, and the point is, whether the Bombay troops on coming into the Punjab should be considered as under the laws there in force, the same as the Bengal troops in Lahore, or whether they have the privilege of bringing with them their own laws as in force in their own Presidency ? The question was mooted, I learn from Lieutenant James, in Sindh, where a strict excise in the

hands of the civil power had created a very considerable item of revenue, but on the transfer of that Province to Bombay, the Military authorities so warmly insisted on their right to have their own cantonment contractor that Mr. Commissioner Pringle, to stop the disputes, waived the exclusive control of the civil power over the excise, and the revenue fell in consequence. Sindh however was a Bombay province, and the Bombay laws, whether good or bad, were undoubtedly those which should obtain. The case seems to me very different here, where the Bombay troops have left their own Presidency, and it is my opinion that the law of Lahore should obtain equally at Mooltan. On this point, however, I await the Resident's decision.

1st March 1849.—Major Hobson, the Prize Agent, proposed to throw open the gates of the city of Mooltan, as the closing of them in no way promoted the realization of the ransom. I accepted his proposition with pleasure, and trust the old inhabitants will soon find their way back. Major Hobson has employed an officer of mine named Moostupha Khan, Khagwanee, to realize the ransom, and he has taken a census of the city, found there are 9,000 houses, and proceeded to assess them. The assessment of 3,000 amounts to only 3 lakhs, so that the whole assessment if realized will amount only to 9 lakhs.

5th March.—Wrote my opinion (by the Resident's desire) to Lieutenant Taylor as to the practicability of leading a column of Irregulars from Bunnoo to Peshawur *viâ* Kohat. I believe the Kohat pass to be so difficult as to be perfectly defensible against such a column by merely the tribes of the neighbouring mountains if they are urged and encouraged to resistance by Sooltan Mohummud Khan and his family holding out at Kohat, in which case Lieutenant Taylor's position, with the uncertain Khuttuck tribes and Bunnoo in his rear, would be most insecure, and there would be danger of his supplies being cut off. At the least he would be of no use to General Gilbert, who would have to decide the fate of Peshawur by himself. Lieutenant Taylor would, I fear, only be able to advance when either General Gilbert had defeated Dost Mohummud or the Dost evacuated Peshawar, without awaiting a battle, either of which events would cause Sooltan Mohummud to abandon Kohat and fly to Jellalabad. Considering this as almost Lieutenant Taylor's only chance of reaching Peshawur by that route, I would suggest that his instructions be limited to the occupation of Kohat as soon as Gen-

eral Gilbert shall have obtained possession of Peshawur, as that duty can be both better and easier performed by Irregulars than Regulars. Two thousand horse and foot and two guns would be a sufficient detachment; but a Political Officer of energy and experience, such as Lieutenant Lake, would be required to assume charge. Lieutenant Taylor could not be spared from the Derajat, without almost a total suspension of public business in the districts now under his charge.

6th March 1849.—Received and transmitted a letter from Lieutenant Taylor to the Resident, containing almost similar but more detailed objections to the Kohat expedition.

Doctor Elliot, the Superintending Surgeon here, applied to me through the Brigadier for a garden lately belonging to Dewan Moolraj, for the purpose of growing vegetables for the European soldiers. The garden is full of young mango trees and flowers, and is laid out as a pleasure ground entirely, with a newly finished dwelling house at one end, and a brick wall which must have cost a large sum of money running round it. In short it is a valuable property, which would be thrown away if given up to vegetables, which in every station in India are grown in the open fields, round the wells, protected by merely a thorn hedge. In reply therefore to the Brigadier, I mentioned the above, and offered to hire a suitable plot of ground and well for the cultivation of vegetables. I thought it right also to inform the Brigadier of the purpose for which I was reserving the *Sirkaree* and confiscated gardens about Mooltan, *viz.*, as rewards (should the Resident approve) to those native officers of superior rank whose services or losses in the rebellion entitled them to such consideration, and whom I have no other means of suitably rewarding. I have heard no more about it, nor has Doctor Elliot applied for a plot of ground.

A robbery having been committed at an officer's quarters yesterday, and the officer having solicited General Cortlandt's assistance in detecting the thief, General Cortlandt brought to my notice the impossibility of his establishing a police in the city, so long as it is held in military occupation by the garrison. Accordingly I wrote privately to the Brigadier to ask if it would not be a mutual accommodation to make over the city to me, now that all fear of opposition, either from within or without, has subsided? In reply the Brigadier quite coincided, and proposed to withdraw the 4th Bombay Rifles as soon as possible.

8th March 1849.—Some time ago, Lieutenant Dunsterville, the Commissariat Officer here, advised me of his intention to bring a large supply of grain and flour from Bhawulpoor, and requested me to arrange for there being plenty of boats at the ferry. Accordingly I spoke to the Nawab's Vukeel, and a few days after the Nawab replied to the Vukeel that 12 boats had been ordered. Lieutenant Dunsterville now writes to complain that on the arrival of the camels at the ferry, not a single boat was procurable, and that had it not been for an officer of mine who had taken sick soldiers in boats to Bhawulpoor, the supplies could not have been brought across. These instances of the neglect of the subordinate Kardars and officers of Bhawulpoor are so frequent that there is hardly any reliance on anything required being done. Everything is promised and acquiesced in by the Nawab, but those who have to carry out his orders seem to neglect them with impunity. The Nawab himself is, I believe, a staunch and true friend of the British Government, and when any great emergency arouses him into personal attention (such as the late war) his good-will and friendship are unmistakably displayed in solid acts, but he is surrounded by bad servants, who care little for his interests, and when he gives himself up to pleasure, which is much his wont, and leaves business to others, his good intentions are seldom carried into effect. I shall send the Vukeel to see the ferry himself.

HERBERT B. EDWARDES,
Assistant Resident.

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INDEX.

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